

THE INDIAN JOURNAL
OF
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

(Official Organ of the Indian Institute of Public Administration)



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Executive Council for 1955-56

President

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru

Chairman : Executive Council

Shri V.T. Krishnamachari

Vice-Presidents

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant Shri C.D. Deshmukh

Dr. B.C. Roy Pandit H.N. Kunzru

Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh

Honorary Treasurer

Shri S. B. Bapat

Members of the Executive Council

Shri G. L. Bansal	Prof. S. N. Mozumdar
Prof. R. Bhaskaran	Dr. Seeta Parmanand
Shri Din Diyal	Shri H. M. Patel
Shri N.V. Gadgil	Shri S. Ranganathan
Shri Humayun Kabir	Shri Din Dayal Sharma
Prof. S. V. Kogekar	Prof. Sri Ram Sharma
Shri M. K. Mathulla	Shri N.K. Sidhanta
Shri H. C. Mathur	Shri L. P. Singh
Prof. V. K. N. Menon	Shri Y. N. Sukthankar

Shri B. Venkatappiah

Director Pro tem.

Shri S. B. Bapat

INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Editor

Shri S. B. Bapat

Editorial Board

Prof. D. G. Karve

Prof. S.V. Kogekar

Prof. V.K.N. Menon

(The views expressed in the signed articles are the personal opinions of the contributors and are in no sense official, nor is the Indian Institute of Public Administration responsible for them.)

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. I. (1955)

AUTHOR INDEX

- Appleby, Paul H. Comparative Public Administration, 3.
Concerning Ministers, 89.
History and Precedent vs. Reform, 303.
Thinking Big, 59.
- Attlee, *Right Hon'ble* C.R. Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public, 95.
- Bapat, S.B. O & M in the Government of India, 61.
The Training of the Indian Administrative Service, 119.
- Barkat Narain *see* Narain, Barkat.
- Crouch, W.W. Introduction to Public Administration—A Synopsis, 50.
- Dalip Singh. Public Relations in Tax Administration, 45.
- Dube, N.P. How to Organise an Exhibition, 38.
- Dutt, R.C. Principles of Selection in Public Services, 204.
- Dwarkadas, R. Legislative Staff Agency, 35.
- Gadgil, N.V. Accountability of Administration, 193.
- Goswami, U.L. The Structure of Development Administration, 110.
- Jupta, S.R. Problems of Government Publicity in India, 254.
- Inderjit Singh *see* Singh, Inderjit.
- Karve, D.G. Public Administration and the Directive Principles of the Constitution, 8.
- Khanna, B.S. The Training of the Administrative Services in States, 354.
- Kogekar, S.V. On Bureaucracy, 240.
- Mani, N.S. Public Service Examinations—A Peep Behind the Scenes, 318.
- Mavalankar, G.V. One Indivisible Whole, 92.
- Mazengarh, O.C. Improving Civil Service Public Relations, 33.
- Merani, S.T. Targets and Stock-taking, 251.
- Mohite, S.P. Integration in Welfare Administration, 328.
- Narain, Barkat. Health Programme in the Community Project Areas, 104.
- Natu, W.R. The Regulation of Forward Markets, 159.
- Neelakantam, S. Provident Fund for Labour in Select Industries, 152.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. Administration—A Human Problem, 1.
A Word to the Services, 289.
- Okabe, Shiro. Public Corporations in Japan, 217.
- Pant, Govind Ballabh. Public Servant in a Democracy, 181.
- Pant, Pitambar. Why Metric? 344.
- Patil, R.K. Democratisation in Administration, 212.
- Pillai, N. R. The New Civil Servant, 2.
- Robson, William A. The Forms and Directions of Public Enterprise, 14.
- Sain, Kanwar. People's Cooperation in the Kosi Project, 130.
- Samuel, Edwin. Government in the Communal Villages of Israel, 184.
- Singh, Inderjit. Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department, 224.
- Singh, Rana K.D.N. Towards a Programme Budget, 310.
- Singh, Tarlok. Administrative Relations in Planning, 137.
Cooperation and Economic Development, 25.
- Srivastava, Anand K. Public Service Unions in the United States, 335.
- Tarlok Singh, *see* Singh, Tarlok.

TITLE AND SUBJECT INDEX

(Asterisk indicates title of the Article)

- *Accountability of Administration, 193-203.
- *Administration—A Human Problem, I. Administration, Accountability of, 193-203.
- Administration, Democratisation in, 212-16.
- Administration, Reform in, 303-9.
- *Administrative Relations in Planning, 137-51.
- Administrative Service, Indian—Training, 119-29.
- Administrative Services in the States, Training of, 354-60.
- Budget, Programme, 310-17.
- Bureaucracy, 240-50.
- Civil Servant, Accountability of the, 193-203.
- Civil Servant. The New, 2.
- Civil Servant—Targets for Performance and Stock-taking, 251-53.
- Civil Servant in a Democracy, 181-83.
- *Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public, 95-103.
- Civil Service Public Relations, Improving, 33-34.
- Communal Villages of Israel, Government in the, 184-92.
- Community Development Blocks, Administration of, 328-34.
- Community Development Programme—Administration, 110-18, 328-34.
- Community Project Areas, Health Programme in, 104-9.
- *Comparative Public Administration, 3-7.
- *Concerning Ministers, 89-91.
- Constitution, Public Administration and the Directive Principles of the, 8-13.
- Co-operation, People's *see* Public Co-operation.
- *Co-operation and Economic Development, 25-32.
- Delegated Legislation, Review of, 35-37.
- Democracy and Civil Servant, 181-83.
- *Democratisation in Administration, 212-16.
- Development Administration, Structure of, 110-18.
- Directive Principles of the Constitution, Public Administration and, 8-13.
- Economic Development, Co-operation and, 25-32.
- Economic Planning, Administrative Relations in, 137-51.
- Employees' Provident Fund, 152-58.
- Examinations, Public Service—A Peep Behind the Scenes, 318-27.
- (The) Executive, Accountability of, 193-203.
- (An) Exhibition, How to Organise, 38-44.
- *(The) Forms and Directions of Public Enterprise, 14-24.
- Forward Markets, Regulation of, 159-69.
- Forward Markets, Commission, 159-69.
- *Government in the Communal Villages of Israel, 184-92.
- Government of a Welfare State, 92-4.
- Government Publicity in India, 254-6.
- *Health Programme in the Communal Project Areas, 104-9.
- *History and Precedent vs. Reform, 303-9.
- *How to Organise an Exhibition, 38-44.
- *Improving Civil Service Public Relations, 33-34.
- Incentives—Public Services in India, 303-9.
- Incentives—Village Level Worker in India, 303-9.
- Income-tax Department, Reorganising the Indian, 224-39.
- India.
 - Administration—Democratisation, 212-16.
 - Reform, 303-9.
 - Administrative Service—Training, 119-29.
 - (in the States) 354-60.
 - Civil Service—Recruitment, 59-60.
 - Community Development—Administration, 110-18, 328-34.
 - Community Development—Administration, Health, 104-9.
 - Constitution—Directive Principles and Public Administration, 8-13.

- Forward Markets Commission 159-69.
 Government Publicity, 254-65.
 Income-tax Department, 224-39.
 Kosi Project—People's Cooperation, 130-36.
 Labour-Provident Fund, 152-58.
 Metric System, 344-53.
 National Extension Service—Administration, 110-18, 328-34.
 O & M Division, 61-80.
 Parliament—Accountability of the Executive, 193-203.
 Press Information Bureau, 254-65.
 Provident Fund, Workmen's, 152-58.
 Public Administration and Directive Principles of the Constitution, 8-13.
 Public Relations in Tax Administration (Delhi), 45-49.
 Public Service Examinations—Administration, 318-27.
 Public Services in a Welfare State, 289-302.
 State Administrative Services, Training, 354-60.
 Tax Administration—Public Relations (Delhi State), 45-49.
 Village Administration, Democratisation of, 212-16.
 Village Level Workers—Incentives, 303-9.
 Welfare Administration, Integration of, 110-18, 328-34.
 Welfare State—Public Services, 289-302.
 (The) Indian Administrative Service. The Training of, 119-29.
 Indian Income-tax Department, Reorganising the, 224-39.
 Industrial Workers—Provident Fund, 152-58.
 *Integration in Welfare Administration, 328-34.
 *Introduction to Public Administration, 50-58.
 Israel, Government in the Communal Villages of, 184-92.
 Japan, Public Corporations in, 217-23.
 Kibbutz (Israel), 184-92.
 (The) Kosi Project, People's Co-operation in, 130-36.
 Labour—Provident Fund, 152-58.
 Legislative Review of Semi-legislative Powers, 35-37.
 *Legislative Staff Agency, 35-37.
 Markets, Forward *see* Forward Markets.
 Metric System, 344-53.
 Ministers, 89-91.
 Ministers, Parliament and the Public, Civil Servants, 95-103.
 National Extension Service, Administration of, 328-34.
 Nationalised Industries *see* Public Enterprise. Public Corporations.
 *(The) New Civil Servant, 2.
 *O & M in the Government of India, 61-80.
 *On Bureaucracy, 240-50.
 *One Indivisible Whole, 92-94.
 Panchayat and Patwari, 212-16.
 Parliament and the Public, Civil Servants, Ministers, 95-103.
 Patwari and Panchayat, 212-16.
 *People's Co-operation in the Kosi Project, 130-36.
 Planning (Economic), Administrative Relations in, 137-51.
 Press Information Bureau, Government of India, 254-65.
 *Principles of Selection in Public Services, 204-11.
 *Problems of Government Publicity in India, 254-65.
 Programme Budget, 310-17.
 Promotion in Public Services, 204-11.
 *Provident Fund for Labour in Select Industries, 152-58.
 (The) Public, Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and, 95-103.
 Public Administration, Comparative, 3-7.
 Public Administration, Democratisation in, 212-16.
 Public Administration, Introduction to, 50-58.
 Public Administration, Reform in, 303-9.
 *Public Administration and the Directive Principles of the Constitution, 8-13.
 Public Co-operation Programme—Kosi Project, 130-36.
 *Public Corporations in Japan, 217-23.
 Public Enterprise, The Forms and Directions of, 14-24.
 Public Relations, Improving Civil Service, 33-34.
 *Public Relations in Tax Administration, 45-49.

- *Public Servant in a Democracy, 181-83.
- *Public Service Examinations—A Peep Behind the Scenes, 318-27.
- Public Services—Selection, 204-11.
- Public Services and Welfare State, 289-302.
- Public Services in India—Incentives, 303-9.
- *Public Service Unions in the United States, 335-43.
- Publicity in India, Government, 254-65.
- Quasi-legislative Powers of Administrative Authorities, Review of, 35-37.
- *(The) Regulation of Forward Markets, 159-69.
- *Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department, 224-39.
- Rules and Regulations, Humane Enforcement of, 92-94.
- Selection in Public Services, 204-11.
- Staff Agency, Legislative, 35-37.
- Standardisation of Weights, Measures and Coinage, 344-53.
- State Administrative Services, Training of, 354-60.
- *(The) Structure of Development Administration, 110-18.
- *Targets and Stock-taking, 251-53.
- Tax Administration, Public Relations in, 45-49.
- *Thinking Big, 59-60.
- *Towards a Programme Budget, 310-17.
- *(The) Training of the Administrative Services in States, 354-60.
- *(The) Training of the Indian Administrative Service, 119-29.
- United Kingdom.
 - Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public, 95-103.
- (The) United States, Public Service Unions in, 335-43.
- Village Government, Democratisation in, 212-16.
- Village Level Worker—Incentives, 303-9.
- Villages of Israel, Government in the Communal, 184-92.
- Weights, Measures and Coinage, Standardisation of, 344-53.
- Welfare Administration, Integration in, 328-34.
- Welfare State, Government of a, 92-94.
- Welfare State and Public Services, 289-302.
- *Why Metric? 344-53.
- *(A) Word to the Services, 289-302.

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

- Campbell, G.A. *The Civil Service in Britain*, 279.
Rev. V.K.N. Menon.
- Craig, Sir John. *A History of Red Tape*, 279.
Rev. V.K.N. Menon.
- Drucker, Peter F. *The Practice of Management*, 391.
Rev. Inderjit Singh.
- Gadgil, Narahar Vishnu. *Rajya Karmachar Vichar*, 277.
Rev. D.G. Karve.
- Hagman, Harlan L. and Schwartz, Alfred. *Administration in Profile for School Executives*, 283.
Rev. K.G. Saiyidain.
- Indian Affairs Record, 180.
Rev. B.S. Narula.
- International Labour Office. *Administrative Practice of Social Insurance*, 179.
Rev. V.M. Albuquerque.
- Johr, W.A. and Singer, H.W. *The Role of the Economist as Official Adviser*, 385.
Rev. D.G. Karve.
- Jucius, Michael J. *Personnel Management*, 3rd ed. 284.
Rev. G.L. Bansal.
- Kelsall, R.K. *Higher Civil Servants in Britain*, 280.
Rev. R.C. Dutt.
- Khanna, B.S. *Trends in Public Administration in India Since the Transfer of Power*, 400.
Rev. R.G. Mulgund.
- Madras. *District Revenue Enquiry Committee Report*, 288.
Rev. J.M. Kanitkar.
- Morrison, Herbert. *Government and Parliament*, 176.
Rev. S.B. Bapat.
- Newcomer, Mabel. *The Big Business Executive*, 400.
Rev. K.R.S.

Newman, Harry and Sidney, D.M.
Teaching Management, 394.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Panikkar, K.M. Indian Doctrines of
Politics, 384.

Rev. D.G. Karve.

Robson, William A. *ed.* Great Cities
of the World, 285.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Roeber, Edward C., and others. Organi-
zation and Administration of Gui-
dance Services, 282.

Rev. Humayun Kabir.

Royal Institute of Public Administration.
Training Managers in the Public
Services, 177.

Rev. S.B. Bapat.

Saxena, S.K. Nationalisation and
Industrial Conflict—Example of
British Coal-Mining, 400.

Rev. J.M. Kanitkar.

Stene and Associates. Public Adminis-
tration in the Philippines, 397.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Strang, Lord. The Foreign Office, 178.

Rev. I.J. Bahadur Singh.

United States. Commission on Human
Resources and Advanced Training :
America's Resources of Specialized
Talent, 389.

Rev. B.N. Datar.

Commission on Organization of the
Executive Branch of the Government,
Paperwork Management, Part 1—In
the U.S. Government : Report of
the Commission, 399.

Rev. C.K.S.

Evaluating Your Personnel Management,
287.

Rev. R.G. Mulgund.

Improving Orientation Programs, 287.

Rev. R.G. Mulgund.

Weddell, Margaret. Training in Home
Management, 395.

Rev. U.M.

Woodruff, Philip. The Guardians,
387.

Rev. H.M. Patel.

MISCELLANEOUS

Digest of Reports, 371.

Director's Reports, 83, 172, 274, 381.

Editorial Notes, 81, 170, 266, 361.

News from India and Abroad, 267, 362.

Our Contributors. After the Contents
page of number.

*Public Servant in a Democracy, 181-83.
 *Public Service Examinations—A Peep Behind the Scenes, 318-27.
 Public Services—Selection, 204-11.
 Public Services and Welfare State, 289-302.
 Public Services in India—Incentives, 303-9.
 *Public Service Unions in the United States, 335-43.
 Publicity in India, Government, 254-65.
 Quasi-legislative Powers of Administrative Authorities, Review of, 35-37.
 *(The) Regulation of Forward Markets, 159-69.
 *Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department, 224-39.
 Rules and Regulations, Humane Enforcement of, 92-94.
 Selection in Public Services, 204-11.
 Staff Agency, Legislative, 35-37.
 Standardisation of Weights, Measures and Coinage, 344-53.
 State Administrative Services, Training of, 354-60.
 *(The) Structure of Development Administration, 110-18.

*Targets and Stock-taking, 251-53.
 Tax Administration, Public Relations in, 45-49.
 *Thinking Big, 59-60.
 *Towards a Programme Budget, 310-17.
 *(The) Training of the Administrative Services in States, 354-60.
 *(The) Training of the Indian Administrative Service, 119-29.
 United Kingdom.
 Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public, 95-103.
 (The) United States, Public Service Unions in, 335-43.
 Village Government, Democratisation in, 212-16.
 Village Level Worker—Incentives, 303-9.
 Villages of Israel, Government in the Communal, 184-92.
 Weights, Measures and Coinage, Standardisation of, 344-53.
 Welfare Administration, Integration in, 328-34.
 Welfare State, Government of a, 92-94.
 Welfare State and Public Services, 289-302.
 *Why Metric? 344-53.
 *(A) Word to the Services, 289-302.

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

Campbell, G.A. The Civil Service in Britain, 279.

Rev. V.K.N. Menon.

Craig, Sir John. A History of Red Tape, 279.

Rev. V.K.N. Menon.

*Drucker, Peter F. The Practice of Management, 391.

Rev.INDERJIT SINGH.

C Gadgil, Narahar Vishnu. Rajya Vichar Vichar, 277.

Rev. D.G. Karve.

Hagman, Harlan L. and Schwartz, Alfred. Administration in Profile for School Executives, 283.

Rev. K.G. Saiyidain.

I Indian Affairs Record, 180.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

D International Labour Office. Administrative Practice of Social Insurance, 179.

Rev. V.M. Albuquerque.

Johr, W.A. and Singer, H.W. The Role of the Economist as Official Adviser, 385.

Rev. D.G. Karve.

Jucius, Michael J. Personnel Management, 3rd ed. 284.

Rev. G.L. Bansal.

Kelsall, R.K. Higher Civil Servants in Britain, 280.

Rev. R.C. Dutt.

Khanna, B.S. Trends in Public Administration in India Since the Transfer of Power, 400.

Rev. R.G. Mulgund.

Madras. District Revenue Enquiry Committee Report, 288.

Rev. J.M. Kanitkar.

Morrison, Herbert. Government and Parliament, 176.

Rev. S.B. Bapat.

Newcomer, Mabel. The Big Business Executive, 400.

Rev. K.R.S.

Newman, Harry and Sidney, D.M. Teaching Management, 394.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Panikkar, K.M. Indian Doctrines of Politics, 384.

Rev. D.G. Karve.

Robson, William A. ed. Great Cities of the World, 285.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Roebor, Edward C., and others. Organization and Administration of Guidance Services, 282.

Rev. Humayun Kabir.

Royal Institute of Public Administration. Training Managers in the Public Services, 177.

Rev. S.B. Bapat.

Saxena, S.K. Nationalisation and Industrial Conflict—Example of British Coal-Mining, 400.

Rev. J.M. Kanitkar.

Stene and Associates. Public Administration in the Philippines, 397.

Rev. B.S. Narula.

Strang, Lord. The Foreign Office, 178.

Rev. I.J. Bahadur Singh.

United States. Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training : America's Resources of Specialized Talent, 389.

Rev. B.N. Datar.

Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Paperwork Management, Part 1—In the U.S. Government : Report of the Commission, 399.

Rev. C.K.S.

Evaluating Your Personnel Management, 287.

Rev. R.G. Mulgund.

Improving Orientation Programs, 287.

Rev. R.G. Mulgund.

Weddell, Margaret. Training in Home Management, 395.

Rev. U.M.

Woodruff, Philip. The Guardians, 387.

Rev. H.M. Patel.

MISCELLANEOUS

Digest of Reports, 371.

Director's Reports, 83, 172, 274, 381.

Editorial Notes, 81, 170, 266, 361.

News from India and Abroad, 267, 362.

Our Contributors. After the Contents page of number.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was established in March 1954 under the presidency of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

The principal objects of the Institute are : to provide for the study of public administration and allied subjects by organising study and training courses, conferences and discussion groups; to undertake research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government; to publish periodicals, research papers and books on Indian administration; and to serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences and a clearing house of information on public administration in general.

The Institute has been recognised as the National Section for India of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

A regional branch of the Institute has been established in Bombay. Two more regional branches—one in West Bengal and the other in Bihar—are expected to be set up shortly.

The Institute's membership is open to all persons who are actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration. The minimum annual subscription for individual membership is Rs. 25.

Any registered business establishment, joint stock company, educational institution, government authority or approved association of public servants can be admitted as Corporate Member on such conditions as may be specified in each case by the Executive Council of the Institute.

The services offered by the Institute to its members include free supply of the Institute's journal and research publications, a reference and lending library, information and advice on administrative problems, and participation in the Institute's activities.

For Memorandum of Association and Rules of the Institute, and other connected literature, please write to :

*The Director,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
Sapru House, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi-1.*

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. I

January-March 1955

No. 1

ADMINISTRATION—A HUMAN PROBLEM

"... Administration like most things is, in the final analysis, a human problem—to deal with human beings, not with some statistical data. Statistical data helps in understanding. But there is the danger that pure administrators at the top—not so much at the bottom, because they come into contact with human beings—may come to regard human beings as mere abstractions. There is that danger at times in both types of society, whether it is what might be called capitalist society or communist society.

"The communist talks a tremendous deal about the masses, the toiling masses. The toiling masses become some abstraction apart from the human beings in them. He may decide something on pure theory, which may lead to tremendous suffering to those toiling masses. So also the other administrator functions in a different, i.e., capitalist society. The administrator may think in abstract of the people he deals with, come to conclusions which are justifiable apparently, but which miss the human element. After all whatever department of Government you deal with, it is ultimately a problem of human beings, and the moment we forget them, we are driven away from reality.

".... Administration is meant to achieve something, and not to exist in some kind of an ivory tower, following certain rules of procedure and, Narcissus-like, looking on itself with complete satisfaction. The test after all is the human beings and their welfare."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

(From the Address delivered at the Inaugural Meeting of the Institute on 29th March, 1954.)

THE NEW CIVIL SERVANT*

N. R. Pillai

“—**W**HAT manner of man is the new civil servant to be? He should, it is clear, possess the traditional service virtues—efficiency, integrity, and loyalty, more especially to policies and institutions. But of one supposed virtue, that of neutralism in matters with a social or suspected political content, he must rid himself. It has for long remained an unchallenged maxim that the perfect civil servant must be completely neutral from a political point of view and prove himself the loyal and obedient instrument of whatever party is in power. If this means that the model civil servant should create a political vacuum in his thinking, it is a doctrine which must be discarded.

“Every citizen, whatever his calling, has the right to develop and hold his own political views. With this right there can be no interference. But it is the duty of all public servants, as it is of students, not to become political partisans or to engage in political activities. Fortunately for us, the ideal of a Welfare State is not in our country a controversial political issue; it is the goal laid down in the Constitution itself. Far from being a neutralist, the public servant of today, and still more of tomorrow, should be one rich in human sympathy and with a fully-awakened social conscience. To his work he must bring not only competence but faith and fervour and a mind, receptive as well as constructive, able to see, beyond the immediate difficulties, the opportunities that lie ahead.

“This does not mean that the public servant should degenerate into a ‘yes-man’. But it does mean that he should on no account be a ‘no-man’, the man who can only see snags and pitfalls and whose instinctive reaction to external stimulus is one of obstruction. The ‘yes-man’ tries to please others, the ‘no-man’ pleases himself; the ‘yes-man’ does not reveal his mind, the ‘no-man’ has no mind to reveal. Both species are a danger to any organization, but the no-type is a greater danger at a time of growth and development.”

* From the Convocation Address delivered at the University of Travancore on December 18, 1953,

COMPARATIVE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Paul H. Appleby

THE primary focus of the Indian Institute of Public Administration will properly be internal. It is fortunate that the Institute has come into being at a time of new possibilities for enriching the internal view by systematic consideration of public administration in terms of comparing internal processes and values with those of other countries. Public administration everywhere is beginning to seek consciously and extensively enrichment of this sort.

Similar professional organizations in other governmentally-advanced states are rather new and just entering a stage of really significant learning. They provide journals and generally stimulate the production of an increasingly useful literature. These organizations are complemented by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, and through common consideration of problems and personal contacts they are trying to promote the study of public administration all over the world.

The United Nations and the galaxy of its specialized organizations have also moved steadily in the direction of a fuller realization of the fundamental importance of administration in matters treated earlier exclusively in substantive and technical terms. The U.N. itself has developed a significant world programme in public administration.

Co-operative programmes between pairs or groups of nations have increasingly pointed in the same direction. The Colombo Plan and the Technical Assistance missions newly stress administrative development appropriate to new dimensions of public undertakings. Movement of individual persons under sponsorship of their governments or private 'Foundations' involves an emphasis of the same sort. R.G.A. Jackson of the British Treasury, originally an Australian official and intimately acquainted with administrative organisation and practice in many areas of the world, is on a regular assignment for overseas consultation and he is only one among many who are making significant contributions of similar sort.

All of these activities reflect and further stimulate international drives toward administrative advancement and increased learning both theoretical and applied.

Before this movement got under way, the study of comparative government in university classes and in publications throughout the world was very much restricted to constitutional structures and legalistic theory. These as often as not misrepresented the reality, and even distorted it. In any case, they failed to penetrate deeply into the study of processes by which the values sought by public agencies are achieved or lost. On the American continents, for example, great similarities between many of the constitutions in the southern hemisphere and the United States constitution wholly fail to account for greatly divergent practices. The conduct of government, which is the area of public administration, is a highly important part of the means by which governance is achieved, and "the end pre-exists in the means" as philosopher Emerson and philosopher-leader Gandhi were agreed.

Impressed by the great need for numerous and extensive studies in comparative public administration, the American Political Science Association has had a committee at work for more than a year on plans seeking to maximise the usefulness of such studies. A year earlier the establishment of this committee had been foreshadowed by a conference called by the Public Administration Clearing House.

The committee has concentrated its attention chiefly on three concerns. Since it is unlikely that the administrative systems of all States can be sufficiently studied in the near future, some attention has been given to identifying substantial elements of kinship between systems, pointing toward the early selection of areas for study which all together will be somewhat representative of the varieties of administrative species. The committee has attempted also to identify the most essential elements of public administration in order that various studies could be organized so as to present really comparable and significant material. And in dealing with this subject, the committee has felt impelled to take up the third—that of finding or inventing terminology which can have a common application and meaning.

The committee also has recognized the importance of cultural ecology of public administration—the environmental

variations afforded by differences in history, *mores*, attitudes and ideologies. Government is inevitably to a large extent a product of culture even though, it, in turn, becomes a factor influencing culture.

Terminological problems are exceedingly difficult. In any nation where public administration has become at all self-conscious as a profession or even well established as a practice, terms have come to have meanings peculiar to the national setting. Even the basic word 'administrative' in British-related systems tends to have a meaning different from that popular among American academicians not long ago. Because the President of the United States is denominated the 'chief executive' in the American Constitution, scholars in our country used to insist that 'executive' has a higher significance than 'administrative'; while in the British areas because of division of the civil service into a top 'administrative class' and a secondary 'executive class,' the ranking of the two terms was the reverse of the American ranking. 'An official', 'a department', and 'the civil service' are examples of other terms having different meanings in different countries, and sometimes two or more special meanings in a single State. Communication across cultural lines is much impeded when so many technical terms convey different meanings to various listeners or readers.

The value of achieving a somewhat universal and fresh terminological structure, however, goes beyond simply facilitating communication. It points to the central value of the comparative study by opening the way to really fresh thinking about administration. Familiar terms tend to become *cliches*, predetermining the limits of thought by ruling out an examination of assumptions implicit in the terms. *Cliches* tend to become dogmas.

A familiar example is provided in the United States by the phrase 'separation of powers'. Its history begins with Montesquieu who, in a fashion too common among intellectuals in viewing somewhat remotely the British government of his day, misinterpreted it by over-straining a definition of a mild distinction between the parts of that government. Accepting that definition to a degree, the makers of the American government provided for a relatively greater separation of powers than Britain actually had; and American scholars went still further by long insisting on describing the American government as actually characterized by a separation of

powers greater than the Constitution had created. Indeed, it may be said that if the reality had conformed to the academic picture thus painted it would long since have failed.

A somewhat different example of the influence of terminology may be offered in the Indian context. It is my own feeling that the use of the word 'class' in indentifying different parts of the Indian civil service tends here to carry over into the new age too much of a feudalistic content. At all events, outside of the British-related systems the term has an unnecessarily undemocratic connotation. It is for India to decide whether or not the term colours performance in any undesirable way here, and at least a temporary escape from the term will be necessary for free consideration of the subject.

It is the stimulation to free and imaginative scrutiny of organizational forms and processes that is the end in view, as comparative public administration becomes a focus of world-wide study. Rarely, if ever, will any administrative system find it possible or desirable to copy wholesale structures and practices of another system where history and culture are markedly different. Even under the British colonial rule, Indian government was not a copy of the British system. In many ways experience here fertilized the United Kingdom government, and in other ways conditions here required much differentiation. This is even more true today. But in varieties of experience the whole world has a great pool of experimental learning which can enrich the practice of each State and which all together can help us point toward the development of a fuller-bodied world community.

Actual social institutions—the organizations of human beings working effectively together—are and always will be the chief repository of learning about how to conduct such institutions in the real conditions under which they function. But the process of advancing such learning, and the facilitation of its communication, can be greatly expedited by conscious description, analysis and theory, as well as by imaginative anticipation of future conditions and needs.

The situation here is highly favourable to an especially rapid development in learning about public administration, both in current practice and in dynamic theory. The number of persons qualified alike in intellectual attainment and in hard experience is high. Their exposure is already highly international. Their zealous devotion to the democratic aspira-

tion is unsurpassed. The professionalization of public administration here can move with practitioners and scholars fully sharing responsibility for the intellectual achievement ahead; this will keep the academicians from straying too far toward unreality and misunderstanding and the practitioners from too exclusive immersion in day-to-day necessities. In both groups there is also a healthy willingness to seek criticism and to undergo self-criticism. Whenever energies may be spared from the urgency of internal needs, India will be making important contributions to the world study and practice of public administration. Because of her peculiar position in the world, I think that day will mark a new epoch in the history of the advance of democracy.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION & THE DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION*

D. G. Karve

EVERY constitution has an appropriate form of public administration, designed to carry into effect the purposes of government. We in India need little to remind us of this truth. The bureaucratic form of government, which prevailed in the country till seven years ago, had a well-recognised system of administration as its instrument of action. Beneath the outward forms of an expanding constitutionalism, the substance was that of decision-making by fiat of foreign power and of the execution of these decisions by a disciplined body of public servants. The system of government was exploitative and the form of administration was oligarchic.

The republican constitution of free India, naturally requires a different type of administration. All final decisions, of lawmaking as well as of executive action, are now made by the people's representatives. In giving effect to these, the administration has not only to conform to the letter of the law and to the implications of authority but also to keep it in view that the people it has to deal with are themselves sovereign. While, therefore, the intentions of the law made by constitutional organs of the State have to be scrupulously carried out, the manner in which this is done is one of 'serving the ends of law' rather than that of 'enforcing authority'. Though traditions die hard and it takes long to build up new ones, there is no doubt that in their dealings with the people, collectively as well as individually, the Indian public services are for the first time proving the significance of their name: they are 'Indian', they are 'public', and they are 'services'.

This change in the manner of approach has been made necessary not only by the altered character of the government but also by several of the specific directives and provisions of the Constitution. Article 38 of the Constitution specifically provides that the State shall strive to promote the

* Radio talk delivered on 5th March, 1955. Reproduced by the courtesy of the All India Radio.

welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The objective of a Welfare State based on justice, *i.e.*, broadly, on the absence of exploitation in any form, places on administrators a responsibility which, though not new in form, is certainly new in emphasis. The administration does not make laws, though some of its general orders partake of the character of law-making. It is primarily for the legislature to give effect to the purposes of promoting welfare and avoiding injustice. But in enforcing the law the administration has always a choice between a mechanical and a human approach, between callous indifference and just sympathy. While the legislatures and governments at the Centre as well as in the States, have been busy in implementing the ideal of Welfare State, the administration has also identified itself in an increasing measure with the purposes and the spirit of the new Constitution.

A Welfare State is more economic than political in character. That this thought was present in the minds of the authors of the Indian Constitution is obvious from the 'Directive Principles'. Article 39 calls on the State to direct its policy to secure for all citizens—to men and women equally—adequate means of livelihood. Even if there were no other directive of policy than this, the State would find itself saddled with responsibility of directing the economic affairs of the nation. In fact, however, Article 39 further provides that the State must ensure that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good. In many cases the common good can be served best only by vesting both ownership and control, or either of them, in the State itself. This choice is being forced on the State almost continuously and new economic functions of increasing importance are being undertaken by the administrative machinery.

A more direct responsibility is placed on the State by Article 41, in regard to securing within the limits of its economic capacity and development, to all citizens the right of work and the right to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and undeserved want. It is true that the State itself has not yet moved very far on the road to achieving these objectives. Most of them have, however, found a place in our national development plans. In all

development plans, a greater emphasis is being now laid on the creation of employment opportunities. A limited scheme of workmen's insurance against sickness, accident and disease is already in operation. The question of framing a scheme of un-employment insurance is under consideration of the Government of India. Minimum wages have been fixed in a number of employments. These and many other similar developments are bringing the administration into intimate touch with the great mass of people—a new experience and a new opportunity for the services which they are putting to good use.

A specific directive of the Constitution (vide Article 48) relates to the re-organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines. The community projects and the national extension service, which have made such a promising start, represent some of the concrete steps taken to implement this directive. To change the outlook of the people, to bring the most advanced techniques to the notice of farmers, to supply them with both the knowledge and the means of applying the new methods, and to help them set up their own organizations which will enable them to improve their conditions on a continuing basis : these are some of the important objectives of the new schemes of rural transformation.

While public men and private institutions are helping materially in initiating and promoting rural community schemes, the administration itself has been radically reformed to cope with the new task. The pattern of administrative machinery varies from State to State, to suit varying requirements and traditions. State Governments are inspired by a determination to assume 'leadership for creating leadership', to work in co-operation and not in isolation, to bring the administration as near the villager's home as possible, and to govern by leadership and consultation and not by authority. Though the degree of success achieved is not the same everywhere, each State is on the move.

While some amount of regulatory action on the part of the administration is inevitable for fulfilling most of its tasks, government activities based on the sanction of physical coercion are receding into background. Whereas in the old days, to take an illustration, we felt that the Collector was the head of an organization which would curtail our liberties,

we now look upon him as one who would promote development and assist all legitimate causes. Service, rather than control, is coming more and more to be associated with the functioning of the administration. This is in entire accord with the spirit and the directives of the Constitution.

The new and wider functions of the administration have given rise to special problems of recruitment, training and organization. These are being looked into carefully. While the main methods of recruitment are still the same as before, *i.e.* examination and interview by non-partisan selection boards, there is manifest a greater readiness to rely on the practical test of experience. In respect of technical sides of the services it is being increasingly realized that unless persons who have gathered experience and proved their competence in fields other than government, are occasionally called in on appropriate terms, the growing responsibilities of the State in matters to which it was hitherto a stranger would not be properly discharged. Within the public service, some sort of specialisation is continuously taking place. While there will always remain scope for a general administrative service, its gradual specialisation seems inevitable if full effect is to be given to the objectives of the Constitution. It seems to be equally inevitable, in fact it is very natural, that technical and service departments should attract more attention now than was the case in the past.

The training of public service personnel has assumed special significance in the light of the obligations imposed on the administration by the Directive Principles of State Policy. For carrying out the new programmes of social and economic reforms, the staff requires to be specially trained and oriented in the performance of new tasks. Post-entry training is normal in some departments, such as general administration, finance and police; in others such training programmes have not been developed to any appreciable extent. Recently, special training and orientation courses have been started for the staff of community projects and national extension service. Training schemes already initiated in some other departments need to be expanded so as to extend their coverage and improve their effectiveness.

While attempts which are being made to equalise educational opportunities, will increase the possibility of recruiting personnel from all sections of the community, special

efforts are needed to promote education among the backward classes and to attract suitable persons from among them to the public service. As a result of certain reforms, education of backward classes is already receiving a measure of assistance and support. Special provision exists for recruitment to the public service, of candidates from backward communities provided they possess the prescribed minimum qualifications. The existing measures should be reinforced and extended.

A Welfare State, having a planned economy and a republican constitution, cannot function except through a wide-spread and integrated structure of public administration. 'Bureaucracy' in some form or other is thus inevitable. In India, we have very bad memories associated with it. There seems, however, to be little danger that 'bureaucracy' will degenerate into 'despotism' so long as in the selection, training and supervision of civil service personnel the principle of service, rather than that of authority, is constantly borne in mind.

The attitude of the general public towards the administration is equally important. While the citizens should rid themselves of their fear complex and the officers of their superior airs, both must respect the law. That the people get the government that they deserve is nowhere more in evidence than in the relationship between officers and citizens. If the citizens behave with dignity and respect for the law which the administration is bound to administer, the services too will be more co-operative and helpful. On the other hand, if the citizens continue to suffer from an inferiority complex or develop a new complex of superiority or go out of their way to seek favours, an inefficient, corrupt and despotic administration will emerge.

The Directive Principles of the Constitution specifically enjoin on the State two other administrative reforms of a fundamental character : a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive and the establishment of village panchayats. There has been a strong and persistent demand for taking the judicial functions of the magistracy away from the executive. The impartiality of the judiciary cannot be secured without making it free from dependence, direct or indirect, on the prosecuting machinery. In some States effect has already been given to this directive and in many others suitable steps are being taken to implement it. Complete effect should be given to this directive as early as possible.

Article 40 of the Constitution provides for the establishment of self-governing bodies in rural areas, *i.e.* panchayats. Most States have already enacted legislation on the subject and panchayats are being established in large numbers. They are likely to prove the strongest bulwark of Indian democracy. In our schemes of community projects and national extension service too, special emphasis has been placed on the promotion of popular local institutions.

The whole pattern of rural life is now in a process of re-organisation. The form and character of rural bodies, including panchayats, should be streamlined to meet the growing economic, administrative and civic needs of rural areas. By establishing popular institutions in rural areas on a firm and sound footing, we shall be taking an important step forward towards the implementation of the Directives of the Constitution.

THE FORMS AND DIRECTIONS OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

William A. Robson

STATE intervention of a positive kind in the ownership, operation or regulation of industries and services has now assumed the proportions of a vast worldwide movement. It is to be found not only in the highly developed countries of the West but also in the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa. The scale of this movement is vast; its diversity bewildering; its social, economic and political significance unquestionable. Public administration still awaits its Linnaeus; and in the absence of a comprehensive scheme of classification it may be useful to consider some of the more important directions in which public enterprise is moving in various countries and the forms it is tending to assume. What follows is far from being exhaustive; and even from my own limited knowledge I could add quite a number of frills and decorations. But I have tried to simplify.

I propose to consider first the directions of public enterprise. The following seven categories comprise types of public enterprise which appear to have fairly distinct characteristics :

Public Utility Undertakings

No one has ever defined a public utility in a satisfactory manner. The practice varies considerably from one country to another, and even as between experts within each country, as to what undertakings should be brought under the heading. The public utility concept seems to involve, first, the idea of a service which is so essential that it requires public regulation, ownership or operation ; and second, the notion of a service which for various reasons tends to be monopolistic. Even this does not dispose of the matter in a satisfactory way because it leaves open the question of what is essential. The luxuries of one age become the necessities of the next; and all the services which are today widely recognised as public utilities were for long the luxuries of the well-to-do. We can say, however, that gas, electricity, water, ports and harbours are indubitably public utilities. Some people may wish to include public transport services, railways, and even

coal mining; but I find it better to subsume these under separate headings.

Transport and Communications

These appear to be a coherent group comprising railways, motorbus, tramway and trolleybus services, air lines, airports, canals and inland waterways, telecommunications, ferries, and so forth. The mail carrying services can also be brought under this heading.

Banking Credit and Insurance

This represents a well-established manifestation of public enterprise which includes central banks, commercial or business banks, savings banks, bodies intended to provide credit for agriculture, such as the Farm Land Banks, the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, and the Production Credit Corporations of the United States, and the Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa. It also includes organs set up to assist industry and commerce to raise capital, such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of U.S.A. or to advance money to a particular industry, like the National Film Development Corporation in Britain. It is possible to bring under this heading public pawnshops and mortgage institutions operating under State authority and also a body like the Conseil National du Credit in France which has very wide and important functions. Whether our own Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation and the Finance Corporation for Industry should be regarded as examples of public enterprise is not free from difficulty, since most of the capital of the former is owned by the main commercial banks, while that of the latter is divided between the Bank of England and a group of insurance companies and trust companies. On balance I should include them. International forms of public enterprise like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must be included under this heading.

So far as insurance is concerned, I am thinking not of social insurance but of such examples of public enterprise as the War Damage Scheme in Britain, the nationalized insurance companies in France, crop insurance in the United States carried out by the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, the insurance of mortgages and loans carried out by the Federal Housing Administration, and the export guarantees provided by the Export Credits Guarantee Department in

Britain. There is a surprisingly large amount of public enterprise in many countries coming under this heading, but very little study has been given to it. State activity of this kind has come to be generally accepted but not much is known of the way in which it works or the effects it produces.

It would be permissible to extend this heading to include fiduciary activities of the State, such as those carried out on a large scale here by the Public Trustee.

Multi-purpose Development Projects

The T.V.A. was the first modern example of a multi-purpose project sponsored and initiated by the State. The aims originally specified for the T.V.A. were flood control, improving the navigation of the Tennessee river, generation of electrical power, the proper use of marginal lands, reforestation, and the economic and social well-being of the people living in the river basin. The main functions which have been performed by the T.V.A. relate to water control, navigation, the generation and distribution of electric power and the production of nitrate for use as a fertiliser. But although the wide purposes envisaged by President Roosevelt have dwindled under pressure of resistance from lesser men, the T.V.A. remains a multi-purpose project *par excellence*. It has served as a model for the great river valley projects now in course of construction in India, such as the Damodar Valley Corporation, which is promoting irrigation, flood control, and power production on a large scale.

The Volta River Aluminium scheme in the Gold Coast is another example of a river valley project. This involves the construction of a dam and a huge lake, the development of hydro-electric power, building of a smelting plant to exploit the local bauxite deposits and to utilise the power, together with a wide range of public works, including railways, roads, houses, schools, hospitals and other public buildings. Another American multi-purpose undertaking is the Panama Canal Company, formerly known as the Panama Railway Company. This Company, which is entirely owned and controlled by the United States Government, maintains and operates the Panama Canal. It also carries on a large number of business activities, including a railway and steamship line, docks, piers and terminal facilities, bunkering plant, cold storage facilities, hotels, restaurants, theatres, bowling

alleys, electric power, water and telephone services, a printing plant, motor transport services, ship repairing, etc.

Our New Town Development Corporations are multi-purpose projects of a very different kind. They are urban and not rural. They are concerned with the control and use of land rather than of water. They are located in over-developed rather than in under-developed or neglected areas. Their comprehensive character is the distinguishing feature which places them under the same heading as the river valley projects.

The Colonial Development Corporation is a quite different conception of a multi-purpose undertaking. It was established in order to investigate, formulate, and carry out "projects for developing resources of colonial territories with a view to the expansion of production therein of foodstuffs and raw materials, or for other agricultural, industrial or trade development therein"*. Its activities include an immense variety of enterprises in the Carribean, the Far East, and Africa. They include agriculture, animal products, fisheries, forestry, mining, housing and development, public utilities and manufacture. The Corporation is responsible *inter alia* for the new Fort George Hotel in British Honduras and for producing in Jamaica turtle soup which is sold in this country and in America !

Basic Established Industries

This heading is intended to refer to industries or services of national importance which have already been established by private enterprise and which are subsequently subjected to public enterprise in one form or another. (One must exclude, of course, industries coming under any of the previous headings set out above.) Coal mining, iron and steel, agriculture, fisheries, oil production or refining, are obvious examples. Here again we must consider not only national enterprises, but also international undertakings like the European Coal and Steel Community.

New Industries or Services

In Britain nationalisation has chiefly meant the taking over by the State of long-established industries such as coal, railways, gas, electricity and so forth. But in many countries

* Overseas Resources Development Act, 1948, Section I (1).

public enterprise is an intitiating force. This is particularly noticeable in India, where all recent nationalisation policy (with the exception of the air lines) has been directed towards the creation of new industries or undertakings. Thus, the main items in the current nationalisation programme are the great new Sindri fertiliser factory, which cost about £17½ millions; the Chittaranjan locomotive factory, which represents the first attempt to manufacture locomotives in India; the Indian Telephone Industries, Ltd., which produces telephone equipment; a new aircraft factory in Bangalore; the National Instruments Factory; a penicillin factory; the Hindustan Shipyard, which is also a pioneer effort in a new industry for India; a machine tool factory in Mysore and a few other undertakings of a similar kind. The Indian Government has recently signed an agreement with the Imperial Chemical Industries to build the first explosives factory in India for industrial purposes, most of the capital of which will be publicly owned.

Even, in Britain there are some notable examples of public enterprise in new spheres. By far the most important is the work relating to the development of atomic energy, carried out by the Ministry of Supply and now to be transferred to the Atomic Energy Corporation. Another important sphere of public enterprise has been the development of gas turbine—an entirely new industry in which the lead was taken by Government. One of our greatest domestic industries, the totalizator, has been owned and operated as a form of public enterprise from the outset.

Cultural Activities

This heading includes a substantial number of functions or services in the realm of the fine arts, scholarship or learning, which the state has subsidised, promoted or fostered in various ways. I would mention by way of illustration public service broadcasting and television; the encouragement and support given to drama, music, and the visual arts by the Arts Council in Britain; the State-supported opera houses in many countries; the Comedie Francaise in France and other State theatres; a wide range of municipal activities providing dramatic and musical performances and other forms of entertainment in many different countries; and lastly the development of cultural relations with other countries carried out by bodies like the British Council.

There is a very old tradition of State patronage of the arts which derives from the days of princely rule, and this has made the State responsible for many great national art collections, museums and libraries; but most of the cultural activities I have mentioned above are of comparatively recent origin, though there is certainly no sharp dividing line between the old and the new.

THE FORMS OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

The forms, no less than the directions of public enterprise, provide a variegated picture, and I shall only attempt to indicate the most wide-spread types of institution which are being used to carry out State functions of the kinds I have been considering.

The Government Department or Ministry

This remains the principal instrument for conducting postal services in all countries, and telephone and telegraph services in most of them. Some Post Offices, like those of Switzerland and Britain, conduct a large banking business. The Swiss Post Office also operates the entire motor-bus system on which many mountain villages depend for their sole method of public transportation.

Many people believe that the Government Department is not an appropriate organ for administering public enterprise of a modern kind; yet, this contention is not everywhere accepted. The All India Radio System is under the direct control of a Central Government department with a Minister in charge of it; and I am very reliably informed that there is no political interference with broadcasting programmes such as might be expected. Moreover, Station Directors enjoy a considerable degree of discretion in India.

The Local Authority

The public utility era, which began in the mid-19th century, saw the town council (by whatever name it was called) invested with power to own and operate gas, water, electricity and street transport undertakings, and a great deal of "*municipal trading*" in these spheres still exists in many countries. But in general the areas of administration needed for the most efficient operation of these services have expanded, whereas the areas of local Government have remained

static. In consequence, municipal enterprise is declining and public utility services are being projected on to a regional or national scale. Nationalisation of these services in France and Britain, or provincialisation in Canada, is only municipal trading writ large.

The Regulatory Commission

This device emerged in the mid-19th century as an instrument for regulating the railways in the public interest. It was Victorian capitalist democracy's notion of how the public interest could be reconciled in a monopolistic service with the profit-making incentive of joint stock enterprise. The idea quickly spread to the United States and the regulatory commission has come to occupy a most significant place in both federal and state Government. The independent Regulatory Commission is represented at the federal level by such massive and powerful institutions as the Inter-state Commerce Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and perhaps another twenty or more similar bodies which constitute what the President's Committee on Administrative Management described in 1937 as a fourth arm of Government. In Canada the idea also took root and produced organs like the Board of Transport Commissioners and the Board of Grain Commissioners.

In Britain the Railway and Canal Commission managed to survive until it was abolished by the Transport Act, 1947. Other more recently established regulatory commissions include the now defunct Electricity Commission; the Licensing authorities set up by the Road Traffic Act, 1930, and which now regulate both the road passenger services and the road haulage industry; the former Coal Commission and the Coal Mines Re-organisation Commission.

The task of the regulatory commission is usually to control or supervise undertakings which are operating for private profit. Publicly owned undertakings can be and are controlled by other means. Hence we should expect the regulatory commission to decline in countries which have moved from regulated private profit-seeking enterprise to public ownership and administration, and this in fact corresponds with experience, notably in Britain.

Our recent experience of the Monopolies Commission shows how essentially negative organs of this type tend to be,

even when they are trying to investigate and abolish restrictive practices. The growing edge of state intervention in economic life is in a positive direction and this may account in part for the growing dissatisfaction with the regulatory commission. As an illustration of this we may cite the interim report of the Trade Union Congress on Public Ownership published in 1953. The General Council of the T.U.C. expressed the view in this report that there is need for public control over certain industries conducted by private enterprise but they rejected the idea of supervision by a public Board of Control because it has "obvious disadvantages when what is required is to ensure that essential investment is undertaken".

The Public Corporation

The public corporation is the most important invention of the 20th century in the sphere of government institutions. It is to be found in one form or another in many different countries all over the world; in Britain and the Commonwealth countries; in the United States; in France, Belgium and many other Continental countries. I believe it will play as significant a part in the economic life of our time as the joint stock company played in the last century.

Public authorities enjoying various degrees of autonomy from the central government have existed for centuries; but the public corporation of today has special characteristics which distinguish it from these older bodies. It was specially devised as an organ of public enterprise and it has become the chosen instrument for this purpose in many lands.

The principal objects which have led to the development of the public corporation were the desire to entrust the economic functions of the State to bodies which should possess a large measure of independence of the Executive, and thereby secure freedom from the regulations normally applying to personnel and finance in Government departments. In parliamentary democracies an important factor was the need to provide immunity from liability to parliamentary questioning in respect of day-to-day administration. By these means, it was hoped to create an organ of public administration which would display the flexibility, initiative, the willingness to take risks, the adventurousness, and the readiness to experiment which is shown in the best examples of commercial enterprise,

The public corporation is now on trial on an extensive scale. It has solved a number of problems, but it has also created a number of new problems. Those which are proving most difficult concern its relations with the Executive and the Legislature. The right balance between independence and political control has not yet been struck in most countries, and the process of adjustment is still continuing. But of the broad result I have little doubt. The public corporation has come to stay.

Mixed Enterprise

By this we mean organs which combine public and private ownership and control. On the Continent *les sociétés d'économie mixte* are very numerous. In France, the State participates in more than forty companies engaged in wide range of activities, including mining for ore, film production, news agency, the production and distribution of petroleum, the merchant marine, industrial research, river navigation, and broadcasting. In Germany, a great part of the public utility undertakings have taken the form of mixed enterprise. It has been exceedingly common for German municipalities to hold part of the stock of gas and electricity companies, and for the national government to join in together with private interests. In Belgium mixed enterprise is to be found in many activities, such as the railways, water supply, low cost housing, canal and maritime installations, etc.

Mixed enterprise appears to have worked fairly well in countries where it is well established : at least there is no criticism or protest against it. But it has made little headway in the English-speaking world. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Manchester Ship Canal are leading examples in Britain. The South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation, the Bank of Canada, and the Federal Home Loan Banks in U. S. A., are specimens from other English-speaking countries. In India, important new forms of joint enterprise consist of a vast new steel works which Krupps is building for the Union Government, and another joint enterprise is the explosive factory which the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., has agreed to construct, equip and manage.

There seems little reason to believe that any spectacular developments are likely to occur in the sphere of mixed enter-

prise. In theory at least it would seem more likely to produce the worst of both worlds rather than the best, since the motives of public service and private profit-making are incompatible.

The Joint Stock Company

This can be and has been used for public enterprise, notably in India at the present time. It was also used during brief period of nationalisation of iron and steel in Britain for the operating companies whose shares were acquired. It is, in my view, inferior to the public corporation for the purpose, but it is worth mentioning.

The Representative Trust

Some writers distinguish the representative trust in the shape of bodies like the Port of London Authority and the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board or the Metropolitan Water Board. I scarcely think this is justified. These bodies are public corporations of a special type, or possessing specific characteristics.

There are other possibilities which have not so far been mentioned. The Co-operative Movement, for example, might be brought into the arena of public enterprise; and so, too, might the Building Societies.

Last and most important, what of the future? What forms is public enterprise likely to take, in this and other countries, during the next twenty, thirty or fifty years?

The forms of public enterprise cannot, however, usefully be considered apart from the directions which it takes. I believe that the directions will change considerably in the future. Nationalisation of whole industries as an end in itself is likely to give way to endeavours by the State to control, stimulate, develop and lead the economy in various ways. Political determination of major economic policy is likely to grow, but State ownership and operation of whole industries *en bloc* may possibly diminish. Control of development, price and dividend policy, the insistence on energetic attention being given to design, to research, to export sales promotion, and to new development—these are likely to be the growing edges of public policy in economic affairs. But State activity will not consist merely of planning, regulation, exhortation and investigation—far from it. One can foresee the

possibility of many new and subtle methods of governmental intervention which would be very different from the methods we have hitherto experienced. The line of demarcation between the public and the private sectors of the economy will probably become much less distinct than it is today.

CO-OPERATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

Tarllok Singh

I

AS a principle of economic organization, co-operation plays a remarkably small part in the present structure of production in India. It has a varying place in the economic life of various countries and only in a few branches of economic activity does it make a substantial contribution. In the perspective of the past two hundred years, except perhaps in the Scandinavian countries, co-operation has had only a meagre share in stimulating the process of economic and social development. For the greater part, co-operative activities have stood on the outskirts of the main stream of economic life c. they have been like pockets in a system based mainly either on the principle of community of ownership or on that of individual property. It would, therefore, appear that, as a method of economic organisation, co-operation has so far exerted only a limited influence on economic thinking and practice. Yet, weakness in action does not seem to have impaired the hope which the idea of co-operation has always inspired, specially among intellectuals and social workers in countries which have low standards of income and consumption and have a great deal of leeway to make up.

There is, thus, a certain contradiction between theory and practice, between the experience of the past and expectations of the future. It might, therefore, be of interest to consider, specially from the aspect of under-developed countries seeking a rapid rate of economic progress, what the precise place of co-operation as a principle or as a method of economic organisation could be and the conditions which would need to be met if co-operation were to fulfil the role assigned to it. Till recently, the process of economic growth and the conditions which determine its rate and form were not a subject of close study. Although important beginnings have been made in dissecting the experience of different countries, perhaps

* Address delivered at the University of Rajputana, Jaipur, on March 13, 1955.

conditions in various parts of the world have varied to such an extent that it might be too early yet to formulate any general principles of economic development. Both in the national and international sense, political conditions provide the setting for economic aims and practices and, in turn, economic factors help in shaping political trends.

In the middle of the twentieth century few countries are able to leave their economic development to chance and circumstance, or to the unaided enterprise of their citizens, or even to the disinterested assistance of more favourably placed countries. In different degrees, therefore, the expressions 'economic development' and 'planned development' have become almost synonymous. In a society in which an attempt is made in an increasing measure to prescribe the goals to be achieved and to organise human and material resources for achieving them, the methods of economic development turn upon the place assigned in the scheme of planning to four main ideas or concepts. These concepts and the manner in which they are interpreted provide the framework within which co-operation as a principle of economic organisation can function. Within such a framework, again there are other conditions which will determine the form which the principle of co-operative organisation may take and the range of activity which it may encompass. The four concepts are : Freedom, Property, Technology and Incentives. We may consider each of these briefly in turn.

Freedom is an absolute value, even though under certain conditions it may be difficult to preserve it. There could be many tests of freedom; the most important among them, perhaps, is whether there is freedom of information and freedom of expression and judgement. In societies in which freedom in this sense does not exist, there may be activities based on the principle of co-operation but their role and functions are of a subordinate and non-independent character. Those activities which cannot be equally well organised by the State or which are of altogether minor importance are left to the co-operative sector.

The system of property relations which exists in a community has considerable influence on the manner in which its economic development will take place. Where freedom exists in the sense described above, changes in property relations are likely to take place continuously until inequalities due to inheritance or on account of wide disparities in the scale of

rewards for different types of work largely disappear. It needs to be emphasised that in the conditions of freedom, whatever their scope, changes in property relations are brought about through a process of law, and even though the effects may be revolutionary the methods adopted are democratic and evolutionary. In a community in which there are gross inequalities in wealth, income and opportunity, co-operation as a method of economic organisation cannot play any significant part. Nor can it contribute much in a community in which the means of production and distribution are mainly in the hands of the State. Changes in property relationships achieved democratically leave small units intact. By bringing these into group or co-operative organisations, it becomes possible to maintain and develop the structure of production and distribution even through the difficult period of transition.

Technological change is of the very essence of economic and social development. In an economy which is expanding, changes in technology can be introduced with much less social strain than when the rate of economic progress is low. This holds good for all types of societies. A system of enterprise based on private property and a system of State ownership are alike favourable to technological change. The problem of technological change has, however, wider implications. In a society in which property and income relationships are in the process of democratic change, there is special emphasis on human values and on the welfare of the community as a whole. As inequalities diminish, the problem is one of combining small units into sizeable groups so as to obtain the advantages of scale and organisation. The small units may be farmers working on their own land, artisans serving the village community or working for merchants, labourers felling trees for forest contractors, or consumers seeking to eliminate the middleman. In each case, in the immediate future it may be possible for a well-organised large unit or for a powerful individual to adopt improved technology and drive out the small man. Co-operation, on the other hand, enables a democratic society to adapt changes in technology from the point of view of the interest of the community as a whole and more specifically for meeting the needs of small men. The principle of co-operation enables small units to organise themselves and in this manner over a large sector of the economy the community may achieve technological

change by stages, each stage leading to the next, and not at the cost of the welfare of large numbers of small and relatively helpless people for whom the community is in no immediate position to offer alternatives. This is a point of special merit in countries like India.

Finally, comes the question of incentives. As human beings are constituted, given a fair measure of equality of opportunity, it may be that the maximum results are secured through a system in which social and individual incentives are blended together. In countries in which the means of production belong altogether to the community, the incentive of additional reward for additional work plays an important part in securing production. There are limits to which individual incentives can be successfully organised in a structure whose dimensions are such that the individual worker is rather apt to be lost. This applies as much to a large factory as to a State farm or to a big collective farm. On the other hand, the appeal to the individual incentive alone may soon degenerate into anti-social forms. Within the limits which may be set by basic technical and economic conditions there is little doubt that in a society marked by democratic changes co-operation offers opportunities of achieving a combination of incentives which are good for the group as well as for each individual participating in it. This analysis suggests, therefore, that in a society seeking freedom and social change along democratic lines, co-operation as a method of organisation may help in achieving a rate of technological change and a system of incentives which will contribute to the welfare of the community as a whole.

II

Given a favourable climate of opinion and policy, the limit to the range of activities to which the principle of co-operation can be applied is set by the fact that a co-operative group has to be reasonably small for its members to know one another as individuals and as fellow workers and to trust one another. It may well be that for certain purposes a number of small groups may, as indeed they do, combine into larger organisations. These organisations derive their strength and vitality from the fact that they are based on small and fairly homogeneous groups which are actively functioning. Thus, it is easier to organise co-operative activity where the means

of production are of a small size or of a simple character than where they are based on complex technology. A co-operative farming society for an area of 50 or 60 acres can be brought into existence more easily than a society which takes in the entire land of a village. A group of artisans working individually or in small groups with relatively simple equipment, may be able to organise their work co-operatively with less difficulty than if, because of the equipment involved, work could not be easily divided between them. A farm worked altogether by mechanical equipment takes on the character of an enterprise in which there may be a considerable distance between the position of the manager and that of the workers. Similarly, in the field of trade in which middlemen control operations whether as buyers or as sellers, given some assistance, a small and compact group can organise its buying and selling activities more successfully than one whose members are bound to one another only tenuously. In other words, the size of the group and the character of the tools employed have a considerable bearing on the extent to which co-operative activity at the primary level may be organised. It may, of course, happen, as suggested earlier, that strong primary units at the base will make possible the organisation of a strong superstructure, each upper layer in the organisation being then able to take on functions which the layer below could not. A body of co-operatives concerned with agricultural marketing may at one level be able to undertake processing of agricultural produce and at another level wholesale trade in foodgrains and at a third level export trade in processed industrial raw materials.

Within the co-operative structure strength lies at the roots. The sectors of economic activity which co-operative organisations can take over are, therefore, likely to be mainly those in which the elements of strength are located at the base, in the size of the primary group and the kind of tools and resources used. From this aspect, fields, such as agricultural production, agricultural marketing and processing, trade in all commodities produced or used in rural areas, consumer's co-operative stores and co-operatives of industrial artisans are specially amenable to the co-operative method. It should be the aim in these fields to enable co-operation to become increasingly the principal basis of the organisation of economic activity. This implies not only that new activities in these fields should be co-operatively organised but also that existing activities should be taken over, step by step, by co-operatives.

In large industrial or transport undertakings, which entail heavy capital investment and are public or semi-public enterprises, the principle of co-operation can be expressed to some extent through participation in management on the part of workers. This is, however, an extension rather than an application of the idea of co-operation as it has been known in the past and is intended to achieve a somewhat different object, namely, avoidance of bureaucratic control.

The fields in which *prima facie* co-operation should become the leading principle of economic organisation will not be organised along these lines unless, in a system of planned development, co-operation is assigned certain sectors as a matter of State policy. The report of the Committee on the Rural Credit Survey suggests two conclusions which are significant in this connection. The first conclusion is that there has to be a partnership between the State and the co-operative movement if co-operation is to succeed and that such partnership has to extend directly or indirectly to all levels of organisation. The second conclusion, reached with reference especially to the problems of co-operative rural credit, is that the credit system of the country has to be reorganised so as to subserve the needs of the rural population. It is implicit in the study carried out by this Committee and in its recommendations that not merely has there to be State partnership for promoting co-operative development along certain lines but also as a matter of State policy certain fields of economic activity have to be organised as a co-operative sector.

III

In developing the co-operative sector of the economy as part of its planning, the community would have to provide for those elements which are specially lacking at present. These are : (1) clear demarcation of the field which has to be progressively organised along co-operative lines, (2) resources and (3) managerial personnel and training facilities.

Even under favourable conditions, in the short run it is much harder for the co-operative form of organisation to succeed than it is for a completely socialist enterprise or for an individual entrepreneur. The human factors involved are more complex; on the other hand, if success is attained, the gains to the community are much larger. It is, therefore,

necessary for a democratic community to take special measures to enable co-operation to succeed as a method of organisation in the fields assigned to it. This consideration has been well emphasised in the report of the Rural Credit Survey Committee. For co-operative farming to succeed, for instance, in a country in which there is heavy pressure of population it is essential that when a number of small men pool their small holdings in a co-operative they should get additional land for cultivation as well as additional capital resources. Secondly, both in the field of production and in trade in the co-operative sector the managerial personnel have to be trained and provided by the State. While such personnel will be deputed to serve with co-operatives, the responsibility for making them available at all levels will largely rest with the government.

To consider the place of co-operation in planned economic development mainly as a matter of demarcating a sector of activity for co-operatives would be to take an inadequate view. The point may be illustrated from co-operation at the village level. With the economic structure of the country rooted in the village, it is necessary to think of co-operation not so much as a series of activities organised along co-operative lines, but as a system of co-operative community organisation which touches upon all aspects of life. Within the village community there are classes of people who do not yet enjoy equality of status and opportunity in sufficient measure. Co-operation would fail unless it means a sense of obligation towards all families in the village community and the development of land and other resources and social services in the common interest of the village as a whole.

To sum up, therefore, in a society built upon freedom, economic development has to be viewed as part of a process in which property and income relationships are being steadily and continuously modified in favour of small men. Small men, whether they are farmers or artisans or labourers, can hold their own and gain in strength and resources only if they combine along co-operative lines. Co-operative organisations permit the adaptation of new technology in stages which are in tune with the interests of the community. It is possible through them to develop a balance between social and individual incentives which will benefit the community as well as the individual. There are certain fields in which co-operative organisations can play a distinctive part in building up the economy and in eliminating existing

agencies such as money-lenders or middle-men whose contribution to the economy is marked by certain undesirable characteristics. As an extension of the idea of co-operation in large enterprises, workers' management can help in preventing the growth of bureaucratic and impersonal methods of control. The development of a co-operative sector as part of a scheme of planned development, however, requires that the aim be accepted as a matter of national policy and that, in addition to managerial personnel and facilities for training at all levels, the resources of the banking and credit system as well as resources, such as additional land, derived through land reform, and better equipment, should be provided to those engaged in different forms of co-operative activity. These various steps have to be taken, not merely because they are a condition of practical success, but also because the idea of co-operation embodies the essential values of the new society which we seek to create.

IMPROVING CIVIL SERVICE PUBLIC RELATIONS

O. C. Mazengarb

DO not urge your Minister to seek amendments or consolidation of statutes or the gazetting of new regulations unless they are really necessary—"Many people are suffering from legal indigestion caused by the large quantities of law being served out to them. Much of it is just a re-statement of existing law".

2. Do not threaten to use any of the salutary powers given to the administration unless it is intended to carry out the threat—"The legislature sometimes expresses powers widely because of the difficulty of being too specific. But wide powers should never be invoked to further some other object, or for a show of strength".

3. Do not prosecute for technical breaches of law—"If the law has been broken, look at the matter on its merits and consider whether any real harm has been done. The State is a financial loser every time a small fine is imposed because the cost of the prosecution is more than the fine".

4. Do not become obsessed with the idea that your department can do no wrong—"In all your dealings with the public, begin with the notion that the citizen may possibly be right".

5. Do not allow official obstinacy to prevent you from altering an unwise decision—"Frank confession of error may be as good for you and your department as it is for the citizen offended".

6. Do not conservatively search for reasons why suggestions from outside your department should not be adopted—"Move with the times; think out ways and means by which the reasonable desires of the public can be met".

7. Do not be deluded into the belief that the public interest is necessarily served by saving time inside the department—"What does it profit the State if some of its servants save their own time and waste more of the time of the public? Queues at the railway stations, post offices and

other departments are a serious reflection on the organising ability of the senior officers”.

8. Do not try to protect your own department by passing the buck to another department—“You are employed not by a department but by the Crown. When things go wrong, meet the situation fairly”.

9. Do not think your importance in the service is measured by the number of clerks and typists who surround you—“Your real worth to the State may be measured by the number of employees you can do without. When State controllers enter the portals of any enterprise, individual initiative and economy frequently walk out and it takes three or more people to do the work of two.”

10. Do not contemplate the acceptance of employment on your retirement which may bring you into association with your former department—“It is not compatible with the dignity of the service for a former head to be making requests to those who were previously his juniors”.

(From an address to the Civil Service Institute, New Zealand)

LEGISLATIVE STAFF AGENCY

R. Dwarkadas

ONE of the most crucial problems in democracy is to weave the textures of legislative responsibility and administrative accountability in a harmonious pattern. The legislature, whether as a policy-sanctioning organ of the government or as the grand task-master of the governmental affairs, has an over-all responsibility to hold administrative agencies and authorities, which are mostly its creatures, to account.

With an enormous increase in social and economic activities of government, directed towards the realisation of the ideal of a welfare state, the old concepts concerning the strict separation of powers have been rudely shaken. The growth of administrative adjudication and delegated legislation has not only disturbed the basis of old concepts but also given rise to intricate problems of legislative control of administration.

The fact of increase of quasi-legislative powers of administrative authorities controlled by ministerial wing of Parliament has not found favour with some legislators, academicians and administrators. Due to heavy pressure of business and institutional unsuitability to comprehend fine technicalities of administration, modern legislatures have to confine themselves to broad objectives and policies : it is for the administration to work out details within this framework. Under the compulsions of parliamentary democracy and the dynamics of a 'welfare' state, legislatures have to include in most of the statutes, a special provision empowering the administration to make rules and regulations in respect of "specified" matters.

The delegation of this vast power of rule-making to departments and administrative agencies has brought in its train many problems. Most important of these are : how to ensure that administrative agencies do not transgress their powers or misinterpret statutes; how to determine whether they are using their powers carefully, or while conforming to the letter of the law, are violating its spirit; and how to compromise the demand of the administration for more quasi-

legislative powers with the requirements of parliamentary control of administration?

The great increase, in recent times, in the volume and scope of 'delegated legislation' can hardly be viewed with equanimity. Such devolution of quasi-legislative authority on administrative agencies obviously gives them powers having a great potential of mischief. The necessity for limiting their authority, in such a context, becomes imperative. Otherwise, the liberties of the individual would be seriously jeopardised. Though the judiciary serves as the bastion of individual liberty, there are many administrative matters in which it has no jurisdiction. Besides, the very nature of its control is mostly negative. We should evolve institutional devices which would *ab initio* frustrate the attempts of administrative agencies to scuttle individual liberty by the misuse of their powers.

While the need for a legislative review of semi-legislative powers enjoyed by the administration is urgent, there are serious doubts about the effectiveness of such a review. Legislatures are already overburdened with work relating to framing of policies, appropriations of money and expenditure of funds, etc. They also act as custodians of democracy. Further, legislators are no experts. Their amateurishness, political interests, and pre-occupation with party intrigues and the cultivation of their constituencies, make them averse to undertaking a microscopic review of quasi-legislative activities of the administration. For similar reasons, the committees which are entrusted with the task of review, handle it more or less ineffectively. If ever they become active and bold, their suggestions are not easily acceptable to the greater law-making body.

The establishment of a Standing Committee of Parliament is another possible device for reviewing semi-legislative actions of administrative agencies. Experience has shown that even such a committee usually suffers from amateurishness, political involvements and the indifference of the legislature. Even if a standing committee is appointed, the degree of specialisation which it might develop in a tenure of five years or so will, perhaps, not be adequate for an effective probe into the working of 'delegated legislation'.

If Parliaments are apathetic and committees do not provide the requisite experience, what then is the solution?

Can administrative agencies be allowed to continue to flout the spirit of statutes, to exceed their powers, and cause irreparable damage to liberties of individuals? Does not the knowledge that their work will not be carefully reviewed by the legislature, encourage in such agencies a tendency to abuse powers? Unless we can find an answer to these pressing problems, the mounting volume of 'delegated legislation' is, in the long run, likely to obstruct the smooth functioning of our democratic society.

For a proper and effective review of semi-legislative actions of administrative authorities, what we need is a 'legislative staff agency' which should be an expert advisory body, independent of administrative authorities and ministers but subservient to the legislature. A permanent staff of five experts who have had wide administrative experience might constitute the agency. Their past administrative experience will give these persons the necessary 'administrative feel' for handling 'review' work in an expert way. The personnel of the agency should have no official link with the administration, nor should they aspire to any future prospects in government. They should have a permanent tenure in the agency and an ex-officio representation in the Parliamentary Standing Committee concerned with the review of sub-legislative matters. While the legislators will change from time to time, staff experts of the committee need not. Thus, the agency will provide a continuity in review.

The legislative staff agency proposed above, being purely advisory in character, is not expected to act as 'super-administration'. The committee will be a useful instrument for reviewing the acts of 'experts in administration' by a body of outside experts. It will ensure an effective and continuing legislative control of administration without detracting from the generalist nature of representative democracy, both in the U.K. and India. The expert staff agency will only buttress the generalist legislative control of administration: it will not replace it. In short, it will provide the element of quasi-administrative and quasi-legislative 'expertise' to the legislative wing of government.

HOW TO ORGANISE AN EXHIBITION

N. P. Dube

ORGANISING an exhibition—there is nothing to it. Collect a handful of whole-time workers, issue a press note about the exhibition, allot the stalls to the highest bidders and, all that you have to do thereafter, is to sit back and watch the money roll in. At least that is what the novice thinks and, if he is the cautious kind, he takes a few other precautions for good measure.

Exhibitions—and international exhibitions at that—are becoming an almost regular feature of the life in the Capital. This is a development about which we have every reason to be satisfied for, if nothing else, it stops visitors to Delhi from being offensively rude to our press correspondents and telling them that it is about the dullest metropolis they have visited during their peregrinations around the globe. No exhibition today is complete without the cultural shows that are organised in connection with it. The dance recitals and ballets by Kumari Kamala, Gopinath, Mrinalini Sarabhai, Vallathol's Kerala Kalamandalam, Rukmini Devi's Kalakshetra, Tagore's Shanti Niketan, Bombay's Little Ballet Troupe and Delhi's Triveni Arts Centre—to say nothing of the music of Subbulakshmi, Pattammal and Semmangudi Iyer, with Ravi Shankar performing on the *Sitar* and other masters exhibiting their perfection on the *tabla* and other instruments—what else can the avid imbiber of culture desire? Thanks to these exhibitions that are now organised almost every year, Delhi no longer partakes of the silence of the tombs with which it is littered in profusion.

It was the then Ministry of Works, Mines and Power which really initiated this practice of commemorating big occasions by holding equally big exhibitions. The occasion of the meeting in Delhi of the World Power Congress, the Congress on Large Dams, and the International Mission on Irrigation & Drainage was marked by this Ministry by holding an International Engineering Exhibition in 1951. This was followed by the Railways commemorating their Centenary by an Exhibition early in 1953; by the Telegraphs celebrating their Centenary by an Exhibition late that year;

by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply commemorating the United Nations' Seminar on Housing by organising their International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing in early 1954 and by the Ministry of Communications holding another Exhibition to mark the Postal Centenary late that year. An Exhibition on Handicrafts is envisaged this year and will be followed by a really big Indian Industries Fair in the Winter of 1955. How many of those who have paid their four annas (children half rate, except on Sundays and holidays) to gain entry to the Exhibition grounds, realise the amount of work, planning and organisation that has gone in before the exhibition is formally declared open on the appointed day ?

The first problem—you will not believe it—is pitching on the suitable date. When it is a centenary the matter is comparatively simple. But the trouble arises when, say for instance, you have to fix the dates for the Industries Fair. Will it be the cold or hot weather you ask yourself first. If it is to be the former—as very likely it will be, considering the fact that many exhibitors are coming from abroad—you ask the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply how many days during January to March in 1954 their exhibition was held up by rain and how their gate was affected by the weather. You, therefore, decide to advance the dates by a couple of months and run into the month of Diwali. You are holding these preliminary confabulations sometimes early in 1954 and, since the Home Ministry are not in the habit of announcing the next year's holidays so much in advance, it is quite a job to find out on what exact dates in October or November the Diwali will fall in 1955. You then cast around trying to find out whether there is any other Ministry or private organisation which is thinking or has decided to hold some rival attraction during that period. Hotel accommodation in Delhi is very restricted and the capital is overcrowded with visitors, tourists and visiting dignitaries during the cold weather. If you are clever and your exhibition is something really big, you beat them to it and finalise your dates. Clearing the decks of all likely internal trespassers is, however, a job only half done. You have also to make sure that there is no other international industrial exhibition being organised during those dates in any other part of the world. You see how very complicated all this can become, and it is not surprising therefore that the United Nations has now started co-ordinating the holding of international exhibitions throughout the

world. The first prerequisite of holding a successful exhibition, therefore, is to make up your mind, two or even three years before you actually hold it—especially when it is to be of an international character. If you have to cut things fine, a year in advance is the minimum time to declare your intentions, for if you fail to do this, you can think yourself for the poor response from the exhibitors, who being methodical businessmen, want a year's notice to make the necessary annual provision in their budget for the participation in your exhibition. This is equally true of the foreign countries, who want ample notice to get this provision voted in their legislatures.

With the date set, the next assignment is to rush out the Prospectus for the Exhibition. The preparation of this Prospectus is a major headache : rather, it is the sum-total of a number of headaches. The Prospectus must, to start off with, state the site at which the exhibition is to be held. Will it be at the "historic site of the Purana Quila under whose shadows nestles the modern township of Delhi", or will it be the less romantic site behind the Eastern Court on Queensway? Whatever the site, it will have to be determined by the existence of such services as electricity, sewerage, water-supply, transport and the like. It will also be influenced by the size of the Exhibition that you intend to hold. This leads you to the question of how many stalls you will have built-up, semi-built-up and open. You do not know exactly what the response of the exhibitors is likely to be; if you are an optimist you start off with a liberal estimate, if you are the other, you make a very conservative provision. In either case, the chances are that you will be wrong. Why not wait till all the demands are in, but then this means that your lay-out will never be complete and, without the layout, as you know, no exhibitor will touch your Prospectus. So this leads you to the daily skirmishes with your architect and planner; he trying to translate a pet dream of his into the reality of spacious lawns, bubbling fountains, long sweeping bye-ways and grandiose structures; with you, knowing how much the Finance have reluctantly sanctioned, trying to curb his inspiration at every turn. It is amazing how many small things are often overlooked in drawing up this laying and site plan, but a really good architect and town-planner (and it is worth every time getting hold of a really competent person) should be able to look after all these—the circulation of traffic in the Exhibition

Grounds, the siting of the information bureau and the announcement booth, the location of the first aid posts, the urinals and of the amusement park and a host of other things which we all take for granted.

The Prospectus then proceeds to tell the intending participants how they can apply for space at given rates and how they can bring their wares in for the Exhibition. This involves you in a lot of inter-Ministry references. The Chief Controller of Imports has to be asked to grant import permits to all intending exhibitors, the Central Board of Revenue has to be moved into exempting these exhibits from duty, the Railways have to be persuaded to give one-way freight concession for the movement of the exhibits and the municipal authorities have to be requested to agree to the exemption of these goods from octroi duty. With all these concessions, one would expect the exhibitors to flock in and queue up for space. The exhibitors, are, however, a very exacting lot, so that your prospectus must go on to assure them that they will, in fact, be provided with cheap water and power supply, will have the services at site of a clearing and travelling agent, a post and telegraph office, a scheduled bank, telephone connections and some kind of residential accommodation for their salesmen and executives who accompany the exhibits. It is advisable to mention all these things in the prospectus : what is more important, is to see that these assurances are in fact honoured at the opening of the exhibition.

One does not often realise that there is the legal side to this matter of organising an exhibition. It is best, therefore, to frame a set of rules and regulations, as an appendix to the Prospectus. Slip into these regulations whatever your ingenuity can devise; the matter being in small print and clothed in the mumbo-jumbo of legal phraseology is bound to escape the notice of a number of unwary exhibitors. Above all, think first of the rights that you want to reserve for yourself as the organiser of the exhibition. You must obviously reserve the right of admission to the exhibition to yourself; be the sole arbitrator as to who should be given free passes; lay down the law as to the precautions the exhibitors must take in installing electrical equipment; regulate the display of publicity material and advertisements in the grounds; prescribe the standards of cleanliness that must be maintained; commit the exhibitor to exhibiting his wares at his own risk (this is a clever one); protect yourself against all fire hazards

and, to cap it all, state that any infringement of the regulations means instant forfeiture of all the money that the exhibitor may have deposited and his instant and unceremonious dismissal from the exhibition grounds. To soften the harshness of these stipulations, you must, of course, intersperse the regulations with such comforting thoughts as giving to the exhibitor the right to display neon signs, facilities for packing, unpacking and storing his goods and a few free admission tickets for his executives who must be on duty during the exhibition hours.

The Prospectus having been printed on fine art paper, complete with the layout, can now be despatched to all those who are likely to be interested in the exhibition. This is quite a strenuous bit of work as one who has done this knows to his cost. You have to consult all the Directories that you can lay your hands on, have to take the Chambers of Commerce into your confidence and have to open up a new relationship with all your trade and diplomatic representatives abroad. It is no easy job to sell space at the Exhibition and to get in the type of exhibitors that you require. A high-powered publicity campaign to 'sell' your exhibition and a good public-relations staff is essential if you have to make the exhibition a success. You contact the Tourist Bureau of the Ministry of Transport and tell them how useful it will be to them to use this exhibition as another bait to coax people into visiting India. 'Ajanta Caves and the Exhibition', you suggest, would be quite an attractive subject for the posters that the Bureau splashes out all over the world in their 'VISIT INDIA' series. (Incidentally you get this much publicity free, if the Transport Ministry do not see through your game.) You then go over to the Air-India International and all the tourist, travel and hotel agencies that you can think of and persuade them that boosting the exhibition through their publicity material, which they generally issue, is bound to be a profitable business for them. The whole idea, you see, is to try and get as much free preliminary publicity as you can for the exhibition. You then bring in, at your expense, your heavy publicity guns and keep blasting away at the subject periodically and in all sorts of unexpected manners. Nothing is more conducive to attracting huge crowds to your exhibition than say a few talks over the All India Radio by someone who has seen (or pretends to have seen) the activity that is going at site in preparation for the opening day. Huge

placards and posters, strategically displayed; a publicity van (if the Deputy Commissioner can be persuaded to let you use it with a loud-speaker), slides in the local cinemas—all these help to bring in the crowd. For the stage having been set and all your preparations made, your main consideration is to see that you live up to the figures that you submitted to the Ministry of Finance as being the expected gate receipts and, on the strength of which, amongst other things, they sanctioned your exhibition. This is really the night-mare which troubles you throughout the exhibition. In desperation, you go over to the ticket-counters and start selling the tickets yourself, as if by doing so, you can induce more money into the cash-box. We are anticipating things a little, for long before you start fretting about the cash-box, there are a few other things which need your undivided attention.

The 'D-Day' is not very long off and every inspection—monthly at the beginning, fortnightly later on, weekly and even daily as the days fly by—makes you more and more convinced that the exhibition can never be opened on the appointed day. The admission tickets have not yet been printed; the main symbol of the Exhibition—the gate, is not yet fabricated; the grass and the flowers have not yet come up; the exhibitors have heard a rumour that the opening of the exhibition will take place a fortnight later and are sleeping over the job of completing their stalls and, some of the prize-exhibits destined for Delhi, have found their way to Avadi. Never again, you swear to yourself and order a double-shift and then three shifts. You order that the plaster be dried by means of electric heaters if the sun refuses to come out any longer; you threaten the executives with dire consequences at one moment and cajole them the next. You warn the exhibitors that they must have their stalls ready three days before the appointed hour so that you can hold a dress-rehearsal of the opening day. You need not have bothered, for the rehearsal is a flop: you have lost your appetite and your nerves threaten to give way within the next few hours. You decide to keep away from the site the next twenty four hours for the sake of retaining your sanity but, when you do appear there on the morning prior to the opening day, you rub your eyes and hardly dare believe what you see. Everything is in order—or almost in order for the 'D-Day'—and your only prayer now is that it should not rain when the President is delivering his inaugural speech.

The reaction sets in after the opening day. The business of running the exhibition, is not without its trials and tribulations; the work of seeing that the shows go on in the open-air theatre which you have built as an added attraction to your exhibition—all these are bagatelle when compared to the herculean effort you have made in order to bring the exhibition into being. You are a veteran now : you have learnt during the past few months that there is no difficulty that you cannot surmount or a problem to which you cannot find an answer. A few white hair and a waist-line considerably reduced are the only marks that the Exhibition has left on you. These, however, lend you a certain dignity which you never had before. Organising an exhibition—there is nothing to it.

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN TAX ADMINISTRATION

Dalip Singh

WHILE the value of good public relations has long since been recognised in Government departments providing basic services to the public, its recognition in tax administration is a recent development. Even from the point of view purely of tax collection it is desirable to avoid friction in any form with tax payers. A proper public relations policy reduces also the social costs of tax administration by ensuring that tax payers are put to the least possible inconvenience.

In this article, I give a brief account of the attempts made by the Taxation Department of the Delhi State to understand tax payers' point of view. Time, money and effort spent in effecting adjustments in working procedures and methods to suit public convenience were more than compensated by an increase in tax revenue.

A good public relations programme in tax administration, demands that the authorities should (1) appreciate fully the difficulties of the public, (2) make a sincere attempt to remove all reasonable grievances, and (3) afford every possible facility which the law permits. That annoyance and ill-feelings of the public can be allayed by fully explaining the position to them was amply demonstrated in the case of the levy of Sales Tax in Delhi. The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941, has been in force in Delhi since November, 1951. It provides for a single point tax. No tax is payable on sales from one registered dealer to another; it is payable only at the time of sale to the consumer. When the tax was first levied, the Sales Tax Officers refused to grant Dealer's Registration Certificates to *Arhtias* (commission agents) on the ground that the latter were working merely as brokers, had no authority to sell goods and were, therefore, not dealers. The refusal of the Sales Tax Department to give Registration Certificates to *Arhtias* created a panic in the trading community in Delhi which is a big distributing centre and has about 500 to 600 *Arhtias* engaged in various trades, such as, cloth, grocery, general merchandise, etc. The Department called in the representatives of various trades and explained the legal position to

them. It was impressed upon them that the Department was very keen to help them, provided it could be established that an *Arhtia* is a regular dealer as defined in section 2(c) of the aforesaid Act. The traders, however, were not satisfied. They continued to harbour the misgiving that the Department was not giving them a fair dealing. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the Delhi Sales Tax Department made a genuine effort to find a way out. A ruling of the Punjab High Court was traced according to which a *Pakka Arhtia* who, for a fixed commission, purchases goods with his own money, is responsible to the seller for the price, gets the invoices prepared and goods despatched in his own name, is a regular dealer; while a *Kacha Arhtia* is a mere broker. This ruling was brought to the notice of the dealers and they themselves agreed that *Kacha Arhtias* (brokers) need not be registered and allowed to make purchases tax free.

The importance of a clear interpretation of regulations for the purpose of improving public relations was stressed in another case. According to the Schedule of Exempted Goods, appended to the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941, as extended to the State of Delhi, 'paper and newsprint' is exempted from sales tax. The Department interpreted the word 'paper' to mean writing and printing paper only and levied tax on all other types of paper. The traders represented that the Department's interpretation was not correct and that all types of paper should be exempted. They were asked to bring a sample each of all varieties of paper available in the market for a check-up. The traders produced 40 different samples and contended that all of them were 'paper'. When it was explained to them that in common usage 'paper' does not cover *Abri* (flint paper), blotting paper, etc., the traders agreed to pay tax on 11 varieties of paper and to withdraw appeals preferred against the levy of tax on these varieties.

The affixation of court-fee stamps on applications for relief presented another interesting case of 'interpretation'. Under the Sales Tax Rules, every application for relief was required to be affixed with a court-fee stamp of one rupee. The Sales Tax Officers were requiring the dealers to affix a court-fee stamp even on applications made by them for refund of money, already sanctioned by an appeal order or revision order. The traders contended that an application for refund was not an application for relief, because the refund had

already been sanctioned as a result of appeal or revision. Finding that there was enough substance in the traders' point of view the Department agreed that no court-free stamps need be affixed on applications for refunds already sanctioned.

Work procedures which cause inconvenience and annoyance are not infrequently responsible for the lack of effective co-operation on the part of the public. For instance, the sales tax for every quarter has to be paid in the Reserve Bank of India by means of a *chalan*. A receipted copy of the *chalan* has to be enclosed with the return, which has to be filed with the Sales Tax Officer of the area within one month of the expiry of every quarter. If the copy of the *chalan* is not enclosed with the return, the dealer renders himself liable to penalty or prosecution. The traders complained that while they were depositing the tax in the Reserve Bank in the last week of the month following the close of the quarter, the receipted copies of the *chalans* were made available to them some time in the first week of the subsequent month. The result was that they were unable to file the *chalan* along with the return by the prescribed time-limit. Enquiries revealed that the difficulty was genuine and, in fairness, the Department agreed that no penalty need be levied in such cases. This created an appreciable good-will for the Department, and also reduced the number of appeals for remissions of such penalties.

The Sales Tax Act provides for a separate assessment for each quarter of the year, and requires dealers to file fresh returns every quarter. With the enforcement of the Act in Delhi, every dealer had to visit the office four times during a year to present his books of accounts and this meant considerable inconvenience. The Department was not able to check the accounts fully for want of a proper 'Balance Sheet' and 'Profit & Loss Account' which are prepared only after the close of the year. The time-table of tax assessment was, therefore, revised. The assessment in respect of all the four quarters of a financial year is now made only once at the close of the year.

Work procedures in the Registration Department have also been revised to meet public convenience. Documents for registration were earlier being accepted up to 12 noon. As the public was experiencing some difficulty on this account, it was decided to accept documents during the entire period of working hours, i.e. 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. The registration of documents has increased, as also the revenue therefrom.

Provision has also been made for special registration of documents out of turn on payment of a nominal extra fee to enable people from outside Delhi to return home the same day. A proposal has also been made to the Government to authorise the Registrar of Delhi to register documents pertaining to property situated anywhere in India. A booklet giving the scale of fees leviable on registration of various types of documents has as well been published for the guidance of the public. This has greatly facilitated the working of the Registration Department. Previously, in the absence of such a guide the Registration Officer had at times to postpone the registration on account of non-payment of the correct amount of stamp duty and registration fee.

In the Stamps Department also, steps have been taken for quick disposal of cases and expeditious vending of stamps.

The practice of consulting tax payers and of explaining the Department's view point has in several cases resulted in a better compliance with the provisions of law. Under the Excise Rules, no sale of liquor in non-standard sized bottles is permitted. It, however, came to notice that a particular brand of whisky, gin and rum was being sold in bottles of a non-standard size. This sale in non-standard sized bottles was affecting our revenue adversely. The dealers were told to dispose of their stock of such bottles by a set date. They, however, felt that the stock could not be cleared within the prescribed time limit. The matter was re-examined and the dealers were advised either to clear their stock by selling such bottles to restaurants (who are authorised to sell liquor by pegs), or to return it to the distillery or to re-fill the same in standard sized bottles. To this the licencees readily agreed.

When the Sales Tax was enforced, Sales Tax Officers had to issue as many as 13,000 registration certificates. Due to heavy rush of work, some unscrupulous persons managed to obtain registration certificates which entitled them to make tax-free purchases of goods specified therein. They were reported to be making fabulous tax-free purchases on the strength of these certificates. A list of all such unscrupulous persons was circulated among the traders and they were advised to be careful at the time of making tax-free sales to such dealers. This helped a great deal in preserving the business of honest traders and in safeguarding Government revenue.

The Entertainment Tax Department of the Delhi State was receiving frequent complaints of re-sale of cinema tickets at a premium by some unscrupulous persons and the common man had to wait long in a queue. A meeting of the cinema proprietors of Delhi and New Delhi was convened to discuss the matter. The proprietors agreed to open more booking windows at picture houses. The Department has recently made a proposal that profiteering in cinema tickets be made a cognizable offence, so that persons re-selling the tickets at a premium may be brought to book.

The above brief account of the working of the Delhi Taxation Department is a pointer to the need for the application of the principle of human relations in tax administration. The policy of understanding tax payers' point of view is even from a strictly revenue angle extremely desirable. The total revenues of the Delhi State from the Taxation Departments have increased from less than Rs. 3 crores in 1952-53 to nearly Rs. 3½ crores in 1953-54. A large measure of the increase is, I hope, due to our increasing efforts to understand our 'public'.

INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

A SYNOPSIS

W. W. Crouch

(1) The Role of Administration in New Nation

Functions of an administrative bureaucracy :

To implement governmental plans to raise the standard of living and to strengthen the social structure.

To ensure a stable society through enforcement of law and order.

To provide expert knowledge in planning to aid the government of the day to achieve the politically agreed upon objectives.

The role of the administrative machine in a democratic country with a parliamentary form of government.

India's unique situation in having a trained and experienced nucleus of administrators to serve when independence was achieved :

A central secretariat and other administrative services in existence.

A revenue administration system largely intact and operating.

A police system in existence and continuing to operate.

Unusual administrative problems faced since independence :

Loss of a portion of trained and experienced administrative personnel—Withdrawal of British I.C.S. and other personnel
—Loss of administrative personnel through partition of the country.

Unusual strains upon society and government resulting from refugee migration and communal disturbances.

Integration of the States with the Indian Union—Establishment of administrative organizations in the former princely states to conform to a national pattern—Integration of administrative organizations in the United States and others.

Revision of the States :

Administrative problems involved in creating Andhra from Madras.

Work of the States Reorganization Commission and possible effects of its work upon state administration. The search for a formula for a well balanced state organization.

Extension of Indian administration to transferred French territories.

Extension of certain all-India services as integration of the States with the Indian Union was accomplished.

The huge expansion of governmental programmes requires administrative implementation both at the national and state level after independence—the effort to achieve the welfare state.

The effort to democratise the administrative process :

Parliamentary responsibility through the Ministry.

Efforts to enlist community efforts in the community development and agricultural improvement programmes.

Emphasis placed upon development of local self-government.

Objectives of an administrative organization in democratic government :

Efficiency—achieving a degree of perfection in accomplishment and performance.

Responsibility—achieved through proper constitutional channels.

These two objectives should be combined in a concept of service inasmuch as administration exists primarily to serve the people.

The need in a federal union to achieve a balance between the national interest and the local interest.

(II) Levels of Government and Intergovernmental Relations

The respective places of the levels of government in the governmental and administrative pattern.

The Central Government :

Its constitutional powers and responsibilities.

Functions of national significance : External affairs, defence, coinage, banking control, tariff and customs, posts and telegraphs, railways, civil supplies.

Pre-eminence of the central government in levying and collecting taxes that will yield large revenues.

Grants from the centre for state and local projects.

Role of central government in economic planning and development.

The State Governments:

Constitutional relationship of the three classes of States with the centre :

Selection of governors, chief commissioners, and high judiciary by central government and appointment by the President.

Suspension of state legislation that conflicts with central powers.

The Comptroller and Auditor General in relation to the fiscal administration of the States.

Relationship of the all-India services to the State services.

Relationship of States to the centre in police administration.

Functions of the Ministry of Home Affairs in relation to the States.

Position of other central ministries in relation to State administrative bodies.

Local Governments :

Legal relationship of local governments to the States :

Rule of law that local governments may only undertake those functions specifically allocated to them by state law.

Role of the Collector and Magistrate in the scheme of administration :

Development of district boards : local functions of the district.

Combined functions of districts as units of central administration and as units of local government. Similar functions of sub-units of the districts.

Efforts to revive rural local self-government; the panchayat movement :

Relations between the Collector and Magistrate and the panchayats.

Policies of state governments towards the panchayats.

Functions assigned to panchayat administration.

Finance of panchayat : functions.

Administrative relationships between the States and municipalities :

State-municipal financial relations : grants, etc.

Central-State-local relations in police administration.

Selection of municipal chief administrators from State and Central services; selection by the state.

Central and State relationships with the municipalities in planning and executing development programmes under the Five Year Plan.

(III) Organization of Administrative Structure*Central Government administrative structure :*

Ministries (basis of organisation).

The place of the minister in administration.

The Central Secretariat :

The historical background of the secretariat organization in India.

Functions of the secretariat as an institution.

Organization of the secretariat within a ministry.

Relationship of the secretariat to the ministers.

Relationship of the secretariat to the operating administrative units.

Role of certain ministries, *i.e.* Finance and Home, in administration and co-ordination of government-wide matters :

Fiscal policy and budgeting.

Establishment work.

Organization and methods work,

Co-ordination of administrative programmes—role of the Cabinet secretariat.

Operating departments affiliated with ministries.

Boards and commissions in the central government :

Types of functions assigned to such administrative bodies:

Boards as co-ordinating bodies (composed chiefly of ex-officio members), e.g. central board for flood control.

Boards to co-ordinate and plan major programmes, e.g. Planning Commission.

Boards for administration. e.g., Railway Board;
Board of Revenue, etc.

Relationships of the boards and commissions to Parliament—legislative control of this type of administration.

Government Corporations :

Types of functions in which corporation organisation is used.

Distinction between a government department and a corporation.

Relationship of corporations to the parliamentary body.

State governments' administrative structure.

Ministries :

Executive and administrative role of the chief minister.

Legal and functional bases for organization of ministries.

Role of the Chief Secretary in state administration.

State secretariats, composition and functions.

Operating administrative departments.

The state field services :

Inspection and supervision of field offices.

Relationship of state field services to district organization.

State administration of revenue collection administration.

State development structure.

Local units' administrative structure :

District Collector and Magistrate :

Historical basis for these offices and for the district type of organization.

Duties of the Collector and Magistrate.

Lines of responsibility for performance of duties.

District headquarters organization.

Organization and administration of sub-units under the district.

Separation or integration of functions of the executive and judiciary in local administration.

Regional supervisory organization and its relationships with districts.

(IV) Theories of Administrative Organization

(Discussion and examples drawn from Indian, United Kingdom, and United States administrative situations)

Organization of responsibility and authority according to the hierarchy principle.

The span of control.

Organization according to clientele.

Organization according to function.

Principle of unity of responsibility and authority.

Decentralization and delegation of authority and responsibility.

Integration, both as a process of administration and a concept of administrative organization.

Co-ordination : methods employed in achieving co-ordination.

Concepts of staff and line in administrative organization.

Concepts of the place of informal organization in administrative process.

Functions of committees, boards and commissions in formal organization.

The importance of communication in the administrative process and its relationship to the administrative organization.

The flow of communications from the bottom to the top.

The flow of communications from the top downwards in the organization.

(V) Personnel Administration

Importance of personnel to the operation of administration.

Position and functions of the Union Public Service Commission and the state public service commissions :

Quasi-independent position : fixed terms of office.

Advice to government on personnel policy matters.

Responsibility for recruiting and examining candidates for superior positions.

Advice regarding selection to inferior posts : inspection of selection.

Legal responsibility of government to make written statement to the legislative body if commission's advice disregarded or not fully accepted.

Legal basis for the personnel structure in India :

Constitutional provisions.

Acts of parliament and state legislatures setting conditions of service.

Ministerial orders laid before Parliament for discussion and scrutiny.

(a) Ministry of Finance orders on pay, leave, etc.

(b) Home Ministry rules regarding personnel administration,

Establishment policies of the Postal Service, Railways, etc.
Division of the public service into special service groups :

I.A.S., I.A. & A.S., I.P.S., I.F.S., customs and revenue service, Railways, P. & T., other special services created or proposed (i.e. Economic civil service), Central Secretariat service.

Recruitment :

Recruitment for the higher administrative services :

Age limits for recruits.

Educational requirements.

The selection programme and methods employed.

Policies with regard to reserved positions or quotas (scheduled castes, etc.).

Recruitment for the lower echelons of the services.

Methods of determining standards for recruitment and selection.

Relationships between the recruitment policies of the government and the educational and social systems within the country. The focus of student's attention upon achieving government employment.

Recruitment and selection for technical or specialized positions outside of the general services or cadres.

Resources of the country in trained or experienced persons who may be recruited for the newer types of government positions.

Should persons of mature years and public standing be selected directly for certain key administrative posts ?

Appointment :

Limitations upon the executive in making appointments from lists forwarded by Public Service Commissions.

Allocation of All-India service candidates to the states.

Selection and appointment to temporary positions.

The general problem of temporary appointments.

The probationary period as a part of the selection and appointment process. Training programmes combined with probationary service.

Promotions :

Filling higher positions by promotion, as against direct recruitment. Filling of a portion of middle-level secretariat positions by promotion from the lower echelons.

Methods for determining standards of promotion :

Seniority.

Examinations.

Confidential reports, plus departmental determination.

Selection boards.

What agency or group should have authority to determine selection of individuals for promotion? What are the dilemmas?

What constitutes promotion? What are the prerequisites of higher office?

What should be the maximum level that may be filled by promotion from within the administrative service?

Conflicting theories and claims presented by the generalist groups and subject matter specialists for promotion to high level positions (*i.e.*, the I.A. & A.S. claims to Finance Ministry).

Training :

Educational preparation for the public service.

Training of recruits for specific assignment after selection.

Training of I.A.S. recruits; I.A. & A.S. recruits :

Special training schools.

Training in the districts and within the administrative organization.

Training on the job of secretariat and other employees.

Theories of broad generalist training vs. training for specific jobs.

Periodic retraining of employees in in-service programmes.

Training of employees by supervisors and administrative seniors.

Transfer and rotation of assignments :

Policy of transfer in the generalist services : problems and advantages.

Transfer between the all-India services and state services—problems and advantages. Use of the deputation of officers for training or special service.

Compensation :

Methods of determining rates of compensation. Study commissions and their reports.

Times scale increments to salaries.

Uniformity of central government salaries—recognition of local differences in living costs.

Relation between central government scales and state scales.

Relation between government scales and those of private employment.

Dearness allowances and rising costs.

Policies governing compensation and perquisites for high administrative offices.

Relationship of compensation to classification of positions : comparability of compensation scales.

Personnel Management :

"Finding the right man for the right job"—employee utilization.

Direction and custody of personnel records of civil servants.

Employee development: planning of training and assignments to develop employees for greater responsibilities or for special tasks.

Employee relations :

Machinery for discussion of employee relations problems between staff and management :

Whitley Councils.

Employee unions and staff associations.

Efforts of government as the employer to provide improved amenities of employment (including sick benefits, provident funds, etc.)

Concepts of effective human relations within management; relationship of those concepts to employee relations in government.

Retirement :

Historical concepts of retirement in Indian government services.

Policies controlling age limits of retirement.

Conditions of service encouraging voluntary early retirement.

Financing the retirement of government servants.

Employment of retired officers for policy or advisory assignments.

Problems of training replacements to take over from retiring officers.

Tenure and protection of the government servant :

Political neutrality of the civil service.

Protection from abuse of the civil service for partisan purposes.

Prohibition of civil servants taking part in political campaigns.

Methods for protecting the conscientious employee in his job.

Dismissal of civil servants for cause and in accordance with established procedures.

The question of how to protect the civil servant from partisan interference with the conduct of his administrative work : responsible politics as well as responsible administration.

(VI) Fiscal Administration

Budgeting :

Budget theory and its constitutional history backgrounds :

Budgeting in responsible, parliamentary government.

Purposes of an annual budget.

Executive and administrative responsibility for budget preparation :

Form of administrative budget estimates.

Functions of the Finance Ministry and the Comptroller and Auditor General in budget preparation.

Capital budgeting : distinction from current expense budgeting.

Comparative budget practices : the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.

Parliamentary control over the budget :

Cabinet demands and Parliamentary votes.

The consolidated fund and concepts surrounding it.

Supplementary grants.

The concept of the fiscal year.

Accounting and pre-audit :

Relationship of accounting to administration.

Pre-audit as a means for ensuring budgetary control : Treasury control.

Administrative organization for accounting : comptroller's organization.

Auditing and financial responsibility :

Theories of auditing in relation to administration.

The role of the Comptroller and Auditor General—comparison with officers in other countries.

Functions of the Public Accounts Committee in Parliament—comparison with legislative systems in the U.K. and U.S.A.

System of fiscal control in the states : relation of Comptroller and legislative assembly.

THINKING BIG

Paul H. Appleby

ONCE in a while I am struck here by a cautious and frugal attitude in public planning and public administration which does not reflect sufficient confidence in the future of India.

The most brilliantly successful leaders in business, in universities, and in public life that I have known have been men who were willing to 'build big' in confidence that the future would support their efforts in ways they could not fully anticipate. I should like to see that attitude more often, more variously and widely present here. I think it is justified. I have seen enough here to get great confidence in India's future success.

To illustrate what I am talking about, let me refer to the inclination in the government to be afraid to increase the size of annual recruitment to the I.A.S. and other services. There is a tendency to calculate future needs too much in terms of past experience. There is a fear that the engineers now finding employment in connection with dams and canal construction may not later be needed by the government. On the other hand, when great needs arise a decade hereafter, the Government will not, perhaps, be able to find all the personnel it might require for the execution of its development plans.

With all labour-saving equipment, the Government of the United States, apart from its armed services but including state, county and municipal government, had 6.13 millions of employees in 1951. Excluding persons employed in governmentally financed schools and universities, the total number of employees was 4.44 millions. India had altogether 2.15 millions in comparable employments. Since the population of India is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as that of the United States, and since India is undertaking through government a good many activities which in the United States are carried on privately, it is safe to say that the number of employees in governments of all levels here will increase enormously in years to come. This increase should be anticipated.

I am not arguing, of course, for an undisciplined unconcern about putting persons on the public payrolls. I am arguing simply for an approach to the subject that will reflect a willingness to let the future cure many of its own problems and a general confidence in the success and growth of the Indian government. This sort of attitude will have a great deal to do in ensuring the rich future that is anticipated.

(From a talk)

O & M IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

S. B. Bapat

SINCE the attainment of independence and the adoption of a constitution which is permeated with the spirit of a Welfare State, there has been increasing awareness in India of the need to ensure that the machinery of public administration is able to subserve the ends of social and economic policy efficiently. Many distinguished authorities have contributed to the thinking on the subject. The First Five Year Plan devotes two special chapters to recommending a programme of administrative reforms. The creation of an Organisation and Methods Division in the Government of India represents an important practical step in the implementation of that programme. It is proposed in this article to give an account as to how the O & M Division approached its task and on what lines it is proceeding.

Not many readers of the journal will need an explanation of what O & M stands for. In simple terms it means paying intelligent and critical attention not only to *what* is done but also to *how* it is done and *at what cost* in time, labour, and money; paying attention to the design of the machine and its working processes and not merely to its end-product. The need for such attention increases rapidly with the increase in size and complexity of any organised effort in any field. In the competitive conditions of military operations and private industry, the risk of defeat and failure operates as a natural stimulus for those in charge to ensure that the design of organisation and methods used are efficient. In civil government and in the non-competitive public enterprise, it is much easier for inefficiency to grow and remain undetected. Governments all over the world, have been allowing things to drift until the efficiency of the administrative machinery fell so low as to cause a public out-cry. Special officers or commissions would then be appointed to examine the causes of inefficiency

Shri S. B. Bapat has been the Establishment Officer to the Government of India from May 1948 and the Director of the Central O & M Division since its inception.

and to suggest remedies some of which would be put into effect and a temporary improvement achieved. The drift would, however, set in again and the whole cycle would repeat itself. The idea that in the machinery of Government there should be a permanent unit charged with the special function of attending continually to the design of the machine, its working processes and the maintenance of efficiency is comparatively of recent growth. That is the task of the 'Organisation and Methods Divisions' or 'Organisation and Management Offices' which have been set up by the Governments of the U.K. and the U.S.A. during the last few decades. The O & M Division in the Government of India has been conceived broadly in similar terms.

A brief description of the machinery of the Government of India and its working is given in the succeeding paragraphs for the benefit of readers who are not already familiar with it. The business of the Government is split up amongst Ministries, each with a Minister as its responsible political head. At the apex of the official hierarchy in each Ministry stands the Secretary of the Ministry, who is assisted, where the load is heavy, by one or more Joint Secretaries. At its base are the numerous Sections amongst which the work of the Ministry is divided. A Section is under the supervision and control of a Section Officer (Superintendent); two or three Sections form a Branch under a Branch Officer (Under Secretary); two or three Branches make up a Division under a Deputy Secretary who reports either to a Joint Secretary or the Secretary himself. All work from Sections moves up along this hierarchy, the final decision in each case being taken at a level appropriate to its nature and importance. As a general rule the Ministry concerns itself only with the framing of policies and overseeing their execution. The actual implementation of policies is entrusted to executive departments often known as 'Attached Offices', under the charge of officers with designations, such as 'Chief Commissioner', 'Director General', 'Chief Controller', etc. These Officers are commonly referred to as Heads of Departments. In the framing of policy the Minister has the assistance both of the Secretary and the Head of the Department. The business of some of the departments is technical in character and their 'Heads' serve as advisers to the Government within their respective spheres.

Where a question of policy concerns more than one

Ministry, final decisions can only be taken by agreement. If a Ministry dissents and persuasion fails, the matter is placed before the Cabinet. The Ministry of Finance enjoys a special position in this respect and its prior concurrence is necessary before any decision is taken which directly or indirectly involves expenditure of the public revenues. To facilitate consultation on such matters the Finance Ministry is organised into a number of 'expenditure control divisions' attached to the spending Ministries.

Almost until the end of the British rule, Government activities in India were largely confined to the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. After the reforms of 1935-37 the Provinces began to pay more attention to welfare and development matters. The Centre's interest in such matters mostly took the form of grants-in-aid. Up to this time the machinery of the Government of India functioned quite smoothly. Personnel of high calibre were recruited, given a thorough training, and watched and guided in their day to day performance. According to the needs and standards of the day, the Government of India was then justly noted for its efficiency.

The outbreak of the second world war, however, brought about a sudden and great increase in the volume of work. Government stepped into many new and unexplored fields. The existing personnel could no longer cope with the situation. Men had to be found immediately to turn out the additional work. Standards of recruitment were lowered. Standards of training and supervision practically broke down. The end of the war witnessed the assumption by Government of wide responsibilities in fields of welfare and development. Though the character and distribution of work changed to some extent, its volume did not diminish. The quality of personnel and supervision further deteriorated. There developed a general unwillingness to shoulder responsibility and the taking of actual decisions was gradually shifted to the higher levels of hierarchy. These tendencies were further reinforced by the natural desire of the new Ministers, conscious of their responsibility to Parliament, to be consulted or kept informed before the issue of orders even in comparatively unimportant matters. The standard of efficiency was no longer a matter for pride.

This was the situation in which the Central O & M Division came into existence. The establishment of the Divi-

sion was delayed by a dispute among some of the Ministries. Under the then existing allocation of business among Ministries, no specific responsibility was placed on any of them for the efficient functioning of Government as a whole. The general policy regarding recruitment of personnel and determination of their conditions of service (other than those having a financial aspect) was in the sphere of the Ministry of Home Affairs; so also was the responsibility for laying down the procedure for conducting the business of Government. On the other hand, the Finance Ministry had a predominant voice in determining strength of staff and expenditure to be incurred. Though all agreed that some central agency charged with the responsibility for ensuring the efficiency of the Government machinery should be set up, there was no agreement as to where it should be located.

The Ministry of Home Affairs put in a strong claim for the O & M Division on the ground that efficiency was largely a question of the number and quality of men and the way they did their work, and that the Finance Ministry, suffering as they do from the economy complex, would never be able to consider such matters on their intrinsic merits. The Finance Ministry, however, contended that efficiency was not merely a question of how much was done how quickly but also of what it would cost the tax-payer. They also pointed out that the main O & M Organization in the U.K. is located in the Treasury and that India should follow the British example. The Ministry of Home Affairs felt that the two situations were not exactly analogous, as the Treasury in England combined the functions which in India are divided between the Finance Ministry and the 'Establishment and Services' side of the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is a regrettable fact, though illuminating for the student of public administration, that the introduction of O & M in the Government of India was held up for a considerable time because of this jurisdictional dispute. It was eventually decided that the O & M Division should become a part of the Cabinet Secretariat, which functions directly under the Prime Minister and is better placed than any individual Ministry to secure co-operation and compliance from all the Ministries.

The location having been decided, a Director of O & M was appointed to organise 'O & M' work. The first problem which the Director had to face was how the Division should be organised and what working methods it should follow,

One way which suggested itself was to get together a nucleus of persons trained in O & M techniques and to use them individually or in groups for examining and improving the organisation and efficiency of different Ministries over a period of time. This, however, would have been much too slow a process even if enough trained men were available. It was felt that it would be better to devise a system which would spread a simultaneous effort for efficiency over a wide area. In a vast and diversified organisation like that of the Government of India, optimum efficiency cannot be attained or maintained unless each Ministry, Department and operating agency builds up sufficient interest and internal competence to provide its own O & M effort. Though enough men with such competence were not immediately available, potentially suitable officers could be selected and developed by a joint co-operative effort. To begin with, therefore, each Ministry was asked to earmark an officer (preferably of the level of Deputy Secretary) to take charge of its own 'Establishment and O & M' work. It was proposed that these officers should keep in close touch with each other and with the Director of the O & M Division. They would learn the work and techniques of O & M as they went along, forming simultaneously a study group and a 'task force' to carry out a series of progressive and planned operations. Each operation would have definite and limited objectives; but the whole series would not only furnish a training programme in O & M work but also help to achieve a substantial advance in the drive for greater efficiency.

A programme of O & M was framed on these lines in consultation with the various Ministries. As a first step towards its implementation, a group of over 25 officers was formed. A team of another 20 was made up from the Deputy Secretaries of the Expenditure Division of the Finance Ministry. With the subsequent extension of O & M to the larger executive departments, the total number of O & M officers has now risen to 51. Each of them is the head of an O & M cell or unit in his own Ministry or Department and with the full backing of the Secretary or Head of the Department, functions as a watch-dog over its continued efficiency. The O & M officers are encouraged to apply their minds to studying problems of speed and efficiency and to work out their own solutions. The Central O & M Division provides leadership and drive, serves as a forum for exchange of

ideas and experiences at regular periodical meetings and helps to build up a common fund of information and knowledge so that each O & M officer can benefit from the experience of his colleagues.

The Central O & M Division is very small in size. The Director is helped by an officer of the designation of 'Assistant to the Director' who functions as a combination of staff officer and executive assistant. This happens to represent a useful departure from precedent. It has hitherto been customary in the Government of India to assign to every new post a definite status, rank and pay. Though there are obvious advantages from this practice, it does occasionally hamper selection of qualified personnel and also reduces personnel mobility. The post of 'Assistant to the Director' was deliberately conceived as one which could be held either by an officer of Section Officer's rank or by one from the ranks of Under Secretaries, and the person selected receives the same pay as he would in his 'parent' service. The Assistant-to-the-Director acts as the Director's personal representative in dealing with Ministries and their O & M Officers. Although himself of comparatively junior rank in the Secretariat hierarchy, he has found no difficulty in securing access to and co-operation from senior officers in all Ministries and Departments.

For initiating a planned drive for efficiency, each O & M officer was asked to select one 'Section' in his own Ministry, to inspect it thoroughly, and to see for himself how far the existing procedure was being observed and where defects in speed and quality of work lay. Each officer reported his observations to the whole group so as to draw the attention of others to defects which they might have overlooked. This 'group' approach to 'O & M' work produced interesting results. First, it made the O & M Officers conscious of the prevailing inefficiency and the need for determined effort to combat it. Secondly, it showed that the fault, on the whole, lay not so much in the existing organisation and procedures as in the failure to work the existing system properly. It further led to the institution in each Ministry, of a regular programme of inspections.

The O & M officers were also asked to make 'case' studies of at least six files picked up at random from each Section. Movements of papers, speed of work, and quality

of performance were examined in detail. Particular attention was paid to matters like noting, inter-departmental references and non-observance of procedures, etc. These studies created wide interest and the O & M Division received quite a few requests for the loan of 'case-material'.

The process of inspection and case-studies was spread over about three months. It constituted the first phase of the O & M drive. The main objective aimed at in this phase was to shake off apathy and complacency, to create a sense of awareness and urgency, and to spread it over a wide area; and this was adequately achieved.

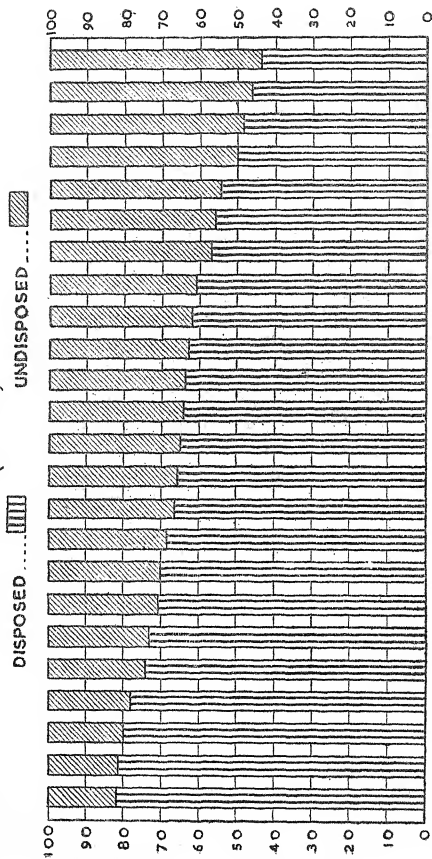
The next stage covered the creation of a new mechanism to enable the Ministries to secure an objective picture of the speed in disposal of work. Controls were devised for obtaining statistical information regarding the number of 'primary receipts' (*i.e.* original items of work received from outside or originating from within the Ministry) and the time taken in the disposal of each such item. Care was taken to ensure that the maintenance of this statistical information would not in itself cause too heavy a burden on the staff. In practice, the mechanism devised has proved to be astonishingly simple and easy to operate. From August 1954, the central O & M Division has been receiving monthly returns compiled by the O & M Cells in all Ministries and Departments, showing statistics of primary receipts pending at the beginning of each month, received and disposed during the month, and carried over to the succeeding month. Time taken for disposal in terms of 'week-units' is also indicated.

Charts and graphs showing a comparative picture of the speed of disposal attained by the different Ministries in each month and the progress made in successive months, are maintained by the O & M Division for the benefit of O & M Officers. Progress in all Ministries has not been uniform. Where it has been too slow, study teams have been set up to locate weak spots and apply the necessary correctives. Some of the charts and graphs are reproduced here as a part of the article (*vide pp. 68 & 70-74*). Figures 1 and 2 give a comparative picture of the speed of disposal by different Ministries and Departments for the months of Aug. & Dec. 1954. These charts should be interpreted with caution. The work of different Ministries is not of the same nature or complexity, and variations in the speed of disposal are but natural. Even under the most efficient system of organisation the work re-

DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN
MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS.

PERCENTAGES

(AUG. 1954)



(FIGURE 1)

ceived during the last few days of the month has generally to be carried over. On the whole, it appears that the Ministries are tending to settle down to a stable rate of out-turn.

For keeping a continuing record of progress achieved by individual Ministries, graphs of the type shown in figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 have been found very useful. The diagonal 'guide-line' at an angle of 45 degrees, indicates the ideal which can only be approached but never fully attained—a state when all work received has been completely disposed of and none is pending. The 'performance-line' shows *total* disposals. In a Ministry where the out-turn is good and the carry-over small, the performance-line would tend to proceed parallel to the guide-line and will not be very far from it (Fig. 3). A performance-line which runs parallel to the guide-line but at a greater distance from it indicates that the out-turn in the Ministry is steady but the proportionate carry-over is greater because the average receipt takes longer for disposal (Fig. 4). In a Ministry where improvement is being effected, the performance-line converges more and more to the guide-line (Fig. 5). Where the performance line veers away from the guide-line, it is a clear warning that efficiency is falling (Fig. 6).

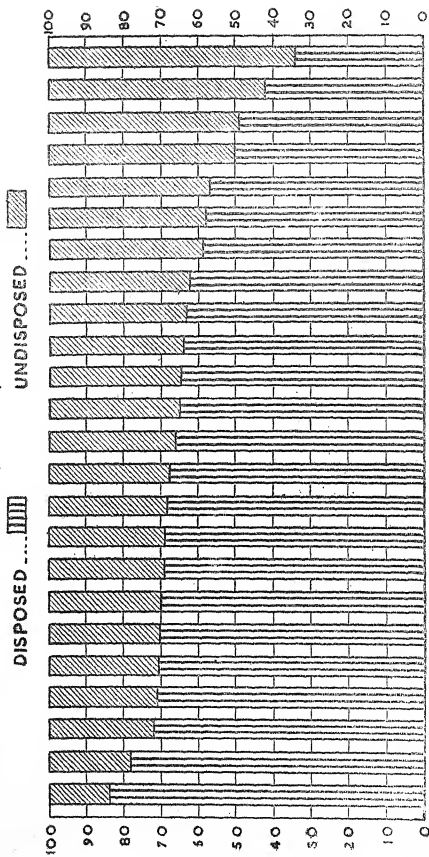
It was found that Ministries which had officers and staff in reasonable numbers, and of good quality, were maintaining a satisfactory speed of disposal. Those with a poor out-turn were either under-staffed, or had inexperienced or untrained personnel. The shortage of numbers is not difficult to make up, but even with the best effort it is not possible to make up rapidly the deficiency in quality.

In addition to introducing a system of statistical returns for keeping a watch on the 'speed of disposal', the O & M Division has also called upon the Ministries to re-institute on a firm and effective basis two other 'controls' which, though provided for in the procedure, were being mostly neglected. These are : a weekly check on the out-turn of work by dealing-Assistants in Sections, and a monthly statement of all pending cases. They have proved very helpful in balancing the flow of work and reducing the 'back-log'. They have also been found useful for evaluating individual performances and facilitating a proper appraisal of merit for purposes of promotion.

The O & M Division has also initiated certain organisa-

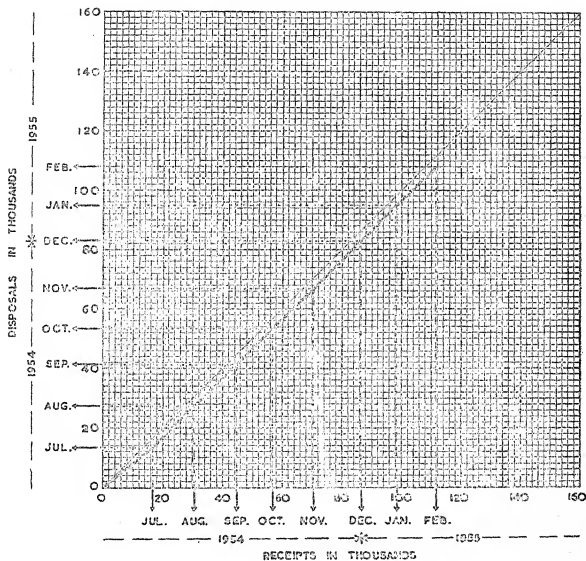
DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS.

PERCENTAGES
(DEC. 1954)



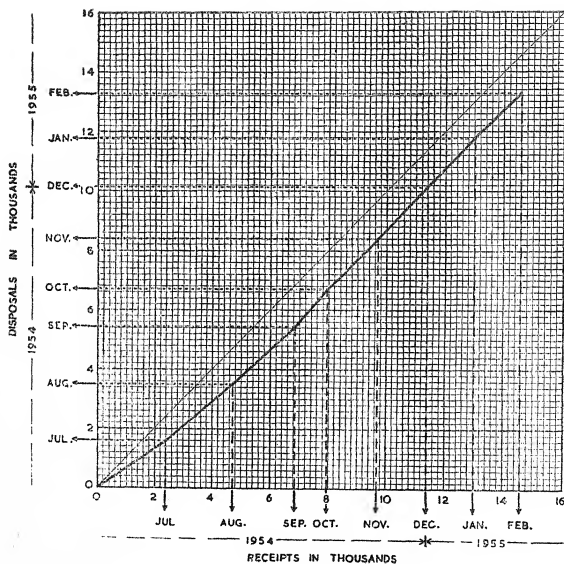
(FIGURE 2)

DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN MINISTRIES / DEPARTMENTS.



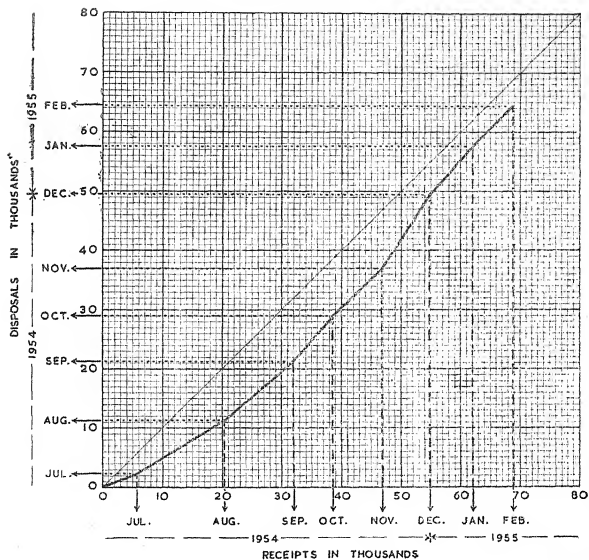
(FIGURE 3)

DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS.



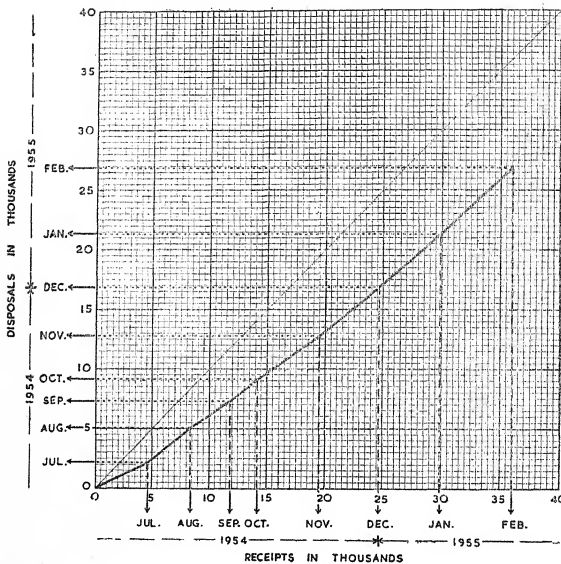
(FIGURE 4)

DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS.



(FIGURE 5)

DISPOSAL OF PRIMARY RECEIPTS IN MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS.



(FIGURE 6)

tional and procedural reforms, common to all Ministries. The most important one among them relates to the devolution of more authority on the Section Officer. Experience had shown that the lack of adequate authority at the level of the Section Officer was hampering smooth and efficient work. It meant a high 'back-log', an excessive work-load for branch officers and a poor morale. At the first meeting of the O & M officers, the Director suggested that Section Officers should be allowed more powers for disposing of certain types of work. The proposal did not find much favour and it was decided that the experiment of giving more powers to Section Officers should first be tried only in such Ministries as were prepared to 'take the risk'. The experiment proved strikingly successful and all other Ministries have willingly followed suit. This, it is hoped, is only the first stage in a general process of lowering the 'decision-taking' level which today is too high everywhere.

Red-tapism and delay are not infrequently due to the lack of absence of enough personal contact between officers of the Ministries and the Executive Departments and officers of the Ministries and the Finance Ministry.

Consultations within and between Ministries usually take place by routing files 'with noting and counter-noting'. The O & M Division has greatly stressed the use of 'personal discussion' for avoiding delays in disposing of important matters. The Division follows the same approach for its O & M work. Officers who once experience the advantages of personal discussion, tend to adopt the same method in other cases too. Disposal through 'personal discussion' also promotes a sense of mutual responsibility.

Special study groups have been set up to deal with certain matters of 'common interest'. Some important tasks entrusted to these study groups include determination of the strength of lower division clerks for different types of secretariat sections, arrangements for the supply of liveries to messengers and peons, preparation of designs of office furniture, and problems arising from the 'centralised handling' of all Government printing work.

In the field of procedures the O & M Division has attempted to eliminate unnecessary movement of papers. In the course of its movement up and down the line of hierarchy, it was customary for each file to go back to the section diarist for recording each movement. This step has now

been eliminated at several stages and a considerable saving in time has been effected.

In matters of budgetary and financial control, the O & M Division has done some useful, though limited, work. At the close of 1953, there developed a strong feeling that the existing systems of budgetary and financial control were holding up the progress of the Five Year Plan. Here, the O & M Division played a beneficial role in diverting attention away from assumptions and focussing it on facts. Detailed studies of 12 cases, selected by the Ministries themselves, in which funds allotted for development schemes were about to lapse, were carried out. The result of the studies was quite revealing. It was found that the delay in all these cases was mostly due to inadequate planning and insufficient attention on the part of the Ministries or departments. Little blame, if any, could be apportioned to the Ministry of Finance. These studies further confirmed the common notion that the spending Ministries tended to inflate their demands in the anticipation that the Finance Ministry would cut them down. The Finance Ministry, assuming that demands were always inflated, would use its axe in every case irrespective of the merit. The matter was examined in detail by a committee of senior Secretaries presided over by the Cabinet Secretary and serviced by the Director of O & M. The findings and recommendations of the committee are summarised at the end of the article, in the form of a statement which was circulated in August 1954 by the O & M Division to all the Ministries. Recently, the O & M Division has also been assisting a special committee of the Cabinet established for reviewing the existing arrangements for financial advice and control.

The O & M Division has prepared a revised 'Manual of Office Procedure' for the Government of India. It is at present under print and will come out very shortly. The paragraphs reproduced below from the 'Preface' to the revised 'Manual' will help to give an idea of the 'attitude of mind' which the Division wishes all public servants to cultivate :

- "2. It must never be forgotten, however, that Government is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. The ultimate object of all Government business is to look after the citizens' needs and to further their welfare, and it is of the utmost importance that in its pursuit there should be no

avoidable delay. At the same time, those who are answerable for the conduct of that business have to ensure that just and impartial treatment is meted out to all and that public property and public funds are managed with care and prudence. To show that these matters have not been overlooked, it is necessary in each case to keep a sufficient record not only of what was done but also of why it was so done.

3. The procedure prescribed in this Manual attempts to balance these conflicting considerations of speed and safety. In a dynamic Welfare State that balance can never be rigidly or permanently fixed. Every rule and step in the procedure must serve a definite purpose and stand these tests : Is it necessary ? Is it excessive ? Is there no quicker way which would serve the purpose ?
4. All those who use this Manual should always maintain a critical attitude to its provisions. All comments and suggestions will be gratefully received and carefully considered."

The O & M in the Government of India is still in its infancy and is at this stage concerned only with the broader aspects of efficiency. It has, however, made a promising start and looks forward to facing the future with confidence.

NOTES

Summary of Findings and Recommendations of the Senior Secretaries' Committee on Causes of Delay in Disposal of Work in the Central Government

Causes

Remedies

I—Within Administrative Ministries

(1) Delays in examination of proposals in sections and in passing orders by officers.

Regular inspections, preparation and scrutiny of arrear lists and close attention to removal of delays in movements—to be the responsibility of the Ministry's O & M Unit supported by the Secretary.

(2) Delays in locating previous papers and references.

(3) Delays in the movement of papers.

Secretaries should hold weekly staff meetings of Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries for—

- (a) formulating broad directions on new cases,
 - (b) review of progress of old cases, and
 - (c) general comparing of notes.
- Outstanding items should be kept on the agenda till finally disposed of.

In case of important schemes, specially those included in the Five Year Plan, special personal attention should be paid by the Secretary, Joint Secretary or specially designated officer for ensuring that time-table of successive stages is prepared and adhered to.

II—Ministry and Attached Offices

(1) Delays in examination of proposals by Technical Officers in Attached Offices.

(2) Time lost in transmission of papers between Ministries and Attached Offices and within different sections of Attached Offices.

(a) All schemes should be discussed in principle between the Head of the Attached Office and the Secretary/Joint Secretary. Details of schemes should be worked out by joint teams of technical, administrative and finance officers at the lowest appropriate level. Unresolved differences of opinion should be settled by personal reference to higher officers. A time-table should be laid down for preparation and implementation of schemes.

(b) Periodical meetings of senior officers of the Ministry and Attached Offices should be held to review the progress of examination/execution of pending schemes.

(c) Joint team work and personal references will eliminate unnecessary movement of papers between the Ministry and Attached Offices. Where such movement is still necessary, O & M unit should work out ways of minimising delay.

III—Administrative Ministry and Finance Ministry

(1) Unwillingness on the part of Finance Ministry to accept schemes in anticipation of approval by Standing Finance Committee (now defunct).

(2) Repeated queries about matters of detail.

(3) Suggestions for reconsideration of proposals on lines generally found un-acceptable to Finance Ministry.

(4) Disinclination on the part of Finance Officers to accept estimates furnished by administrative Ministries.

Finance Officers should be closely and intimately associated with the formulation of schemes and proposals from the very beginning. This will help in bringing about a better understanding and eventually in reaching a stage when Administrative Officers would themselves apply sound financial standards. Finance officers should fully appreciate administrative officers' problems and needs. The strength of Finance officers should be increased, if necessary.

Finance officers should regularly attend weekly meetings.

IV—*Administrative Ministry and other Ministries directly concerned in action programme*

(1) Inadequate inter-departmental consultation and lack of co-ordination.

(2) Delays in inter-departmental consultation.

(a) Standing inter-departmental Committees should be set up where consultations are very frequent.

(b) Administrative Ministry should watch progress and not allow its responsibility to get diffused or blurred during process of inter-departmental consultation.

(c) Personal discussions between officers of the Ministries concerned to resolve differences, or to settle points of detail.

V—*Administrative Ministries and other Ministries Bodies consulted on limited aspects*

(1) Delays in consultation with Law Ministry (e.g. settlement of terms of agreement, bond, etc.).

(2) Delays in consultation with Home Ministry on establishment matters.

(3) Delays in selection and recruitment of personnel by Union Public Service Commission.

(a) Maximum use should be made of standardised forms of contracts, agreements, etc.

(b) Ministries whose activities require very frequent consultation with Law Ministry should have whole-time internal legal advisers.

Each Ministry should have an Establishment Officer specialising in 'establishment lore' who will keep in close touch with Home Ministry. He should know or personally obtain quick answers to all establishment questions and minimise paper references. Review of matters which now require reference to Home Ministry, e.g. recruitment of peons, promotion of clerks in short-term vacancies, etc.,

Internal Establishment Officer of every Ministry should maintain close liaison with U.P.S.C. Secretariat. References to U.P.S.C. by correspondence should be minimised and settlement by personal discussions followed by record of agreed conclusions, should be maximised. Possible difficulties and differences of opinion with the Commission should be anticipated. In major matters, the Establishment Officer to the Government of India should be brought in as an intermediary.

VI—*Administrative Ministry and Central and State Public Works Departments*

(1) Delays in surveying, preparation of plans and estimates and collection of relevant data.

(2) Slackness on the part of contractors.

(a) In formulating proposals and schemes which are bound to involve construction through or on the advice of the Central or State Public Works Department appropriate P.W.D. officers should be associated from the very beginning with the

(3) Non-availability or delayed supply of building material and machinery.

(4) Delays in inviting, and in consideration and acceptance, of tenders, and in award of work to contractors.

team mentioned in item II (c) above.

(b) Existing procedures should be studied in detail to locate causes of delay and to evolve remedies. (Special O & M team may be set up for this purpose with officers from W.H. & S., C.P.W.D., and O & M Division).

VII—*Administrative Ministry and State Governments*

(1) Differences of opinion between Central and State Governments on matters of detail and financial liability.

(2) Delays in submission of formal proposals at Government level.

(3) Delays by the State Governments in taking decisions on suggestions made by Central Government.

In all cases in which State Governments are concerned detailed plans and time-table should be settled by personal discussion between high level officers and where necessary, between Ministers. The agreed plan should itself provide for (a) periodical progress reports, and (b) periodical spot checks by the Central Government Officers.

VIII—*General*

All remedies suggested are fundamentally concerned with the organisation and methods of work. It is, therefore, necessary that each Ministry should have a unit charged with the special responsibility of ensuring that measures to improve speed and quality are put into effect and the staff is properly trained, developed and used to the best advantage. Briefly, this is O & M and establishment work. In the larger Ministries the volume of work will be clearly sufficient to justify the provision of a whole-time officer of Deputy Secretary's rank assisted by adequate staff. In the smaller Ministries the 'O & M and Establishment' Officer may probably be able to look after some other Branch in addition.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WITH this first issue, the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* enters on what we hope will be a long and successful career. The first issue of a new periodical is always the most difficult to produce; but that would only partly explain the delay which has occurred in bringing out this one. The Editor owes and tenders to the members of the Institute his sincere apologies.

Editorial Policy : The policy of this journal is to further the objects of the *Indian Institute of Public Administration* of which it is the official organ. It is, therefore, pledged to devote itself to promoting the study of public administration in all its aspects and to providing a common forum for the exchange of information and views among all who are interested in the subject, whether as professionals or amateurs, as academic students or enlightened citizens. All those who wish to utilise this forum, be they members of the Institute or not, are welcome to send in contributions. In the opinion of the Editorial Board, this journal will not be a suitable vehicle for publishing what is merely a summary or paraphrase of material already available in standard textbooks and publications. Contributions based on original thought or on direct observation and experience will obviously be preferred. Particularly welcome will be accounts of new experiments in the field of public administration.

Our Contributors : We propose to make it a practice in these notes to give brief background information regarding the contributors whose work appears in each issue. Eminent authorities in the field of public administration, such as Mr. Paul H. Appleby and Prof. W.A. Robson, whose contributions we have been fortunate enough to secure for this issue, are, of course, too well-known to need any introduction to our readers. We are deeply grateful to them.

Dr. W. W. Crouch who has also combined academic study and teaching of public administration, with practical experience in the field, is now in India to assist the Institute. His 'synopsis' on the study of Public Administration with special reference to India will remain a contribution of

lasting value for years to come, for all students of public administration.

Shri Tarlok Singh is among the most distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service and has been the life and soul of the Planning Commission since its inception.

Shri Dalip Singh has spent a life-time in the administration of Income Tax and was specially assigned to organize the Sales Tax Department of the Delhi State Government.

Shri N. P. Dube is one of the leading officers of the Central Secretariat Service in the Government of India and is amongst the most energetic of its O & M Officers.

Shri R. Dwarkadas has been an earnest academic student of public administration and is now combining his learning with some teaching.

Prof. D. G. Karve is a 'veteran' economist and 'philosopher-administrator', and is at present directing the programme evaluation studies of the Planning Commission.

Acknowledgments : Our thanks are due to our contributors, the staff of the Institute and the Manager of the New India Press for making it possible for us to bring out this issue.

—Editor

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

1954-55

(Abridged)

Inaugural Meeting

The Institute was formally inaugurated on the 29th March, 1954 by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Institute. The meeting opened with an introductory speech by the Chairman of the Executive Council, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, on the origins and purposes of the Institute. In his inaugural speech, the President underlined the need for keeping the human approach in the forefront in administration. The Director of the Institute, Prof. D.G. Karve, indicated briefly the programme of activities which the Institute proposed to follow.

Programme of Work

The Institute's programme of work, as outlined at the inaugural meeting, mainly covers the following :

1. Publication of a journal and of research papers from time to time;
2. Maintenance of a library and a clearing house of information;
3. Conducting research projects and studies in public administration problems;
4. Holding conferences and seminars;
5. Conducting post-graduate study courses and refresher courses; and
6. Assisting in the development of graduate study programmes in public administration at the universities and the establishment of a School of Public Administration.

Budget and Finance

The programme of work falls into two well-marked parts. The School of Public Administration and the

activities associated with it are of a special character. It is estimated that in a full year of its working the School's budget would run to Rs. 5 lakhs. The recurring expenditure on other items of the Institute's activities, *e.g.* library, journal, study groups, preparation of literature to help in study and research, regional branches, international affiliation, etc., is expected to grow progressively to about Rs. 4,50,000 by 1956-57. On the non-recurring side, land, buildings, initial library and training, etc., are expected to cost over Rs. 34 lakhs. Thus the total expenditure over the first three years is likely to be about 50 lakhs of rupees.

The Institute's own resources from membership fees are at present approximately Rs. 12,500. While membership is expected to grow in course of time, the income from fees is not likely to be a considerable amount. In view of the great national importance which attaches to the provision of adequate and satisfactory facilities for training in public administration in the context of the major political and economic changes taking place in the country, the Government of India have evinced a keen interest in the activities of the Institute. They have sanctioned a total grant (recurring and non-recurring) of Rs. 7.71 lakhs for the year 1954-55. The grant is made directly by the Finance Ministry to the Institute as an autonomous body, and is subject to the usual conditions of audit and previous sanction. The expenditure of the Institute from 21st January to 31st December, 1954 amounted to Rs. 13,617.

The liberal grant made by the Government of India has considerably eased the financial difficulties of the Institute. But for meeting all the present and prospective obligations of the Institute, further support from State governments and private endowments is necessary. Efforts to obtain such aid are being steadily pursued. The Ford Foundation have agreed to donate a sum of \$ 350,000 over the first three years. The first year's instalment of \$ 166,666 has been received. There is reason to hope that States and other private bodies will take a similar interest in the progress of the Institute, so that its activities may not suffer for the lack of material resources.

Premises

In October 1954, the Institute's Office was moved to the Sapru House where the Indian Council of World Affairs were good enough to lease a suitable set of rooms for the purpose. For sometime to come this is likely to prove a satisfactory arrangement for housing the office and the library of the Institute. Very soon, however, the Institute will have to move into its own premises so that all its expanding activities can be provided for. With the assistance of the Government of India, a fair-sized and well situated plot of land in the new Indraprastha Estate has been earmarked for the Institute and necessary steps to acquire it are being taken. The building needs of the Institute in respect of the School, and other activities, as also for hostel and residential purposes, are being worked out in detail. The Executive Council has set up a Building Advisory Committee, including representatives of the Government departments concerned, to help the Institute in preparing and carrying out a well-designed and economical plan of construction.

Regional Branches

Following the adoption of bye-laws for the formation and working of regional branches by the Executive Council, preliminary meetings have been held and initial steps taken in some States to organize such branches. The Council has agreed to give substantial help for the functioning of the branches, provided they represent a fairly large number of members and the State government and university concerned evince interest in their working. In one or two States these conditions seem to have been satisfied and it is expected that regional branches in these will be set up soon.

School of Public Administration

Broad outlines of a scheme of a School of Public Administration have been approved by the Executive Council. Admission to the general training courses will, as a rule, be on the strength of a qualifying degree and an entrance test. A two-year course will be provided, covering lectures, assignments, seminars and tours. In-service training, orientation courses, and research projects will also be undertaken. As Universities and other educational institutions develop their own courses of general instruction in public administration, the School will increasingly concentrate on specialized study

and training. Pending the construction of school building, steps are under way to build up a library and to recruit and train key personnel for instructional purposes.

Study Groups

With a view to promoting a better understanding of the functioning of important 'service' departments of the State and suggesting promising lines of reform if found necessary, Study Groups from among the interested and experienced members of the Institute are being formed. Two groups—one on the Posts and Telegraphs, and the other on the Customs Department—have already been set up. Experienced officers of the departments—serving as well as retired—have been approached to join the groups. The Postal group will soon start functioning and the other one a little later. The 'Group Studies' will be as simple and practical as possible and completed within three or four months each. It is expected that in due course every member who has developed an interest in or has intimate experience of the working of any part of public administration would be able to help in promoting these studies. In May 1954, a letter (with a prepaid reply card enclosed) was addressed to all members requesting them to indicate their respective fields of interest and experience. Replies were received from about one third of members, and these will be utilized in forming study groups from time to time.

Study Material

The source materials, reports, text-books, case histories, etc., bearing on Indian conditions which are needed for adequate and fruitful study of public administration are for the most part lacking. The Executive Council has, therefore, set up a Central Committee of Direction for arranging to have such material prepared with as little delay as possible. The Committee has already selected a list of topics for study and research. Suitable contacts have also been established to secure the necessary material and expert advice.

Journal

The Executive Council has appointed Shri S. B. Bapat as the Editor of the quarterly Journal of the Institute. As the full details of the Institute's programme of work and its finances were not fully settled till recently, the first issue of the journal could not be brought out earlier.

Library

The services of an experienced Librarian and Reference Officer have been secured for the Library of the Institute. In co-operation with other 'professional' agencies in India and outside, bibliographies of books, reports, journals, administration reports, etc., are being prepared. As the Library and Information Service of the Institute are designed to be of direct assistance to students, officers and public men, considerable effort and care are being spent on a systematic planning of this department of the Institute.

Fellowships

The Institute has formulated a regular programme of fellowships for providing facilities for higher studies and specialized training in public administration. Recommendations have been received from Central and State Government agencies and Universities. Appropriate educational institutions, professional organisations and Government training centres outside India are being contacted. The first batch of the Institute's fellows will soon proceed abroad for higher studies and training.

Foreign Contacts

The Institute has been recognized as the national centre for India by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. At the last session of the Council of Administration of the International Institute held at The Hague, the Institute was represented by one of its members, Mr. P.A. Menon, the then India's ambassador in Belgium. The Institute has also accepted the invitation of the International Political Science Association to be its associate member.

Mr. Noel Hall, Principal of the Administrative Training College, Henley-on-Thames, visited the Institute on 23rd October, 1954, and discussed with members present the problem of training in administration.

Sir Paul Sinker, formerly the first Civil Service Commissioner in U.K. and now the Director General of the British Council, addressed an informal gathering of the members of the Institute on 5th March, 1955, on 'Problems of Recruitment and Training of Civil Servants'.

Regular contact is being maintained with important foreign institutes, e.g. the Royal Institute of Public Adminis-

tration, London, and the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago.

Advice to the Central Government

At the instance of the Ministry of Education a note on the study of public administration, at the various stages of education was prepared by a special committee set up by the Executive Council and forwarded to Government for suitable action.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was established in March 1954 under the presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India.

The principal objects of the Institute are : to provide for the study of public administration and allied subjects by organising study and training courses, conferences and discussion groups; to undertake research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government; to publish periodicals, research papers and books on Indian administration; and to serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences and a clearing house of information on public administration in general.

The Institute's membership is open to all persons who are actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration. The minimum annual subscription for individual membership is Rs. 25/-. Application form for individual membership is given on the reverse.

Any registered business establishment, joint stock company, educational institution, government authority, or approved association of public servants can be admitted as Corporate Member on such conditions as may be specified in each case by the Executive Council of the Institute. Application form for Corporate membership can be obtained from the Institute's office.

The services offered by the Institute to its members include free supply of the Institute's journal and research publications, a reference and lending library, information and advice on administrative problems, and participation in the Institute's activities.

For Memorandum of Association and Rules of the Institute and other connected literature, please write to :—

*The Director,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
Sapru House, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi - 1.*

Telegram : Admnist

Telephone : 42581 & 47450

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

Form of Application for Ordinary Membership

Application received Dated	Considered by Executive Council on.....	Admitted Not admitted as from.....
Signature of Secy.		

To

*The Secretary, Executive Council,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
New Delhi.*

Sir,

I hereby apply for Ordinary Membership of the Institute from the year commencing from I enclose herewith a cheque or postal order for Rs. as my subscription for the current year. The required particulars are furnished below.

Yours faithfully,

Dated

Signature

Particulars of the Applicant

1. Name (beginning with Surname)
(block letters)
2. Honours and Degrees, etc.
3. Date of Birth
4. Permanent Address

Mailing Address
5. Rule under which eligible for membership
6. Present Position or Office held
7. Name and Address of Office
8. Membership of Academic or Professional Bodies
9. Publications, etc.
10. Record of interest in Public Administration Study, Teaching, Participation.
11. Any other information that may be of interest

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. I

April-June 1955

No. 2

Concerning Ministers

Paul H. Appleby

THAT the final morality of administrative and executive personnel serving a democratic government is in their subordination to political heads of Ministries and Government is thoroughly understood here as in other democratic nations. There is no reason at all to believe that the Government here cannot get done through its bureaucracy whatever the Government finds it really important to direct to be done. But the understanding by Ministers and Cabinets of their proper roles and particularly their roles as administrative leaders, is by no means equally well advanced. This is not surprising, and the same thing is true to some extent in governments with longer histories. It is rather inevitable that in any government some Ministers will be relatively amateurs in operational responsibility. Parliamentary experience and ability cannot of themselves ensure this other kind of ability, either.

India has some peculiar difficulties in this respect. It is still making the extremely difficult transition from agitational activity to responsible operational activity. There are not many institutions in India to provide operational training. And in any case, the programmatic necessities of the Government of India are such that the governmental organization must be a large and intricate one, and few persons coming to ministerial posts can confidently be counted upon to show many of the abilities needed there.

In view of these considerations, I hope I may be pardoned

This memorandum was recorded by Mr. Appleby at the close of his second visit to India, during which he had discussions with Ministers and officials in a number of the State Governments as well the Central Government.

if I offer some rather general suggestions to Ministers and those who may become Ministers.

Ministers have two rather different roles. In one of these, as members of the Cabinet, they share in the formulation of general governmental policy. For this purpose aside from their general experience in life, their party activity and their membership in Parliament, the contribution they can make must derive from their second role—that as heads of particular Ministries. It is because they have an opportunity to see programmes actually develop and to see administrative problems within their own Ministries that they have any special contributions to make to the Cabinet. And it is this second role of heading a large programmatic operation in which failure or mediocrity is most likely to be demonstrated.

The ablest Minister is one who appreciates, utilizes well, develops and gives general guidance to the operating agency which he heads. The head of any organization has chief responsibility for heightening the morale and increasing the capacities of personnel at all levels below him. If he is merely suspicious and fearful of them he damages their as well as his own performance. If he tries to make too many decisions himself he will make many unwise decisions and deprive himself of the aid and the abilities readily available to him in his own organization. A good head of any organization will expend a considerable part of his energies in upholding his subordinates, defending them from unwarranted and ignorant criticism, and thus encouraging them to their best efforts. When he praises subordinates for the occasional actions he particularly likes, actions of that sort will increase in frequency; whereas if he confines himself to criticising adversely, his subordinates will become fearful of acting, uncertain about how to act, and defensive. Ten measures of praise to one measure of adverse criticism—and the latter so framed as to help and encourage—is a good mixture.

It is always wise for a Minister to be slow to make *particular* decisions especially on the basis of information obtained from irresponsible outside sources. All such information can appropriately be used as occasion for getting more information, and for filing it away in memory as a part of a body of much larger information always in process of being accumulated. But all particular decisions should normally be delegated to subordinates, and these subordinates

should normally be upheld in their actions. The Minister should confine himself to relatively general decisions, and to relatively rare decisions that cannot satisfactorily be made below his level. By and large, the ablest Minister will be he who delegates most and who gives most general guidance to the systematic process by which decisions are reached below him. His most fundamental responsibility, indeed, is for the method by which decisions are reached and for the deploying of personnel for the most satisfactory utilization of their abilities. The ability to work on one's proper level is the test of high competence ; the tendency of the inadequate is to operate on lower levels than those for which they are in fact responsible.

Large and complicated matters can be well handled only by utilizing many persons and many abilities. Ministerial responsibility is first of all for the arrangements by which these many persons and abilities may be most fruitfully utilized. A man who does not learn rather quickly how to do this cannot be a strong Minister.

When one is made a Minister the thing that is conferred upon him is not rank or dignity but an opportunity to use the great resources existing in a Ministry—resources of people, knowledge and skills. The job of a Minister is, in considerable part, a high-level administrative job and is to be approached in terms of developing administrative understanding and competence.

—:0:—

"It is unhealthy for any body of men to be in a position where they are sheltered from organised analysis. Yet we seem, under modern governments, to take the most special pains to prevent such analysis being made. Administrative methods are so largely a body of secret and unexplored habits that criticism of them must inevitably be, in some degree, ignorant."

—HAROLD J. LASKI
(in *'A Grammar of Politics'*)

“One Indivisible Whole”

[The following observations were made by the *HON'BLE SHRI G. V. MAVALANKAR*—Speaker of the Lok Sabha (House of the People) in the Indian Parliament—in the course of an address to the Conference of the Chairmen of the Public Accounts Committees of all the legislatures in India. He has drawn attention to an aspect of the functioning of Parliamentary Democracy, which is seldom discussed in the literature of Public Administration and could hardly be more ably or authoritatively stated.—*Ed.*]

THOUGH the entire set up for the government of the people is conceived as one whole for the benefit of the people and even though the division of work is also made with that purpose, it is yet unfortunately too true that *the several parts of the administrative machinery have yet to go a long way before there could be perfect understanding and co-operation between the different constituent parts so as to make them as one indivisible whole in outlook, spirit and functions.* It is perhaps inherent in human nature to forget the main purpose and to be individualistic while working with others for the same purpose and towards the same end. That is why we find many times conflicts not only of views but in action also, between the various constituents of the administration. The Legislatures feel that the Executive governments are not properly respecting their wishes. The Executive feel that the Legislatures are interfering too much and hindering their work by raising various issues, points and doubts. The Executive and the Legislatures both feel that the Judiciary is putting a brake on their forward march and all these feel that the auditor is a source of great trouble because he raises various types of objections about the competency or propriety of this or that expenditure. And the point to be noted is that all these feelings are quite *bona fide* and sincere.

That there should be this feeling of mutual inconvenience or irritation towards one another, by the various links of the administration as a whole, is undoubtedly an unfortunate situation. But it is no use and will serve no purpose, if we try to ignore the existence of the situation as a matter of fact. *We have, therefore, to make a conscious effort of getting over the situation by a proper appreciation and understanding of*

the purpose of the entire governmental set up, the spirit that ought to pervade that set up and the fact that all the links ought to go together to make one homogeneous whole. This can be achieved only in course of time and by a realisation that all the various branches are expected to co-operate with each other with an understanding of the difficulties of each, which have to be overcome by mutual help and co-operation. It is not that the duty of one is only to find fault with the other and to show that the fault or defect in the administration is the result of something done or not done by the other. To whomsoever the defect may be attributed, so far as the ordinary citizen is concerned, he has to suffer the consequences ; and he knows no separate departments or branches of administration, but he lays the blame at the doors of the government. The Audit and Accounts Officers as well as Parliamentary Committees of the Legislatures have to function bearing this aspect in mind. Enforcing adherence to rules, though essential, is sometimes likely to be oppressive, if stress is laid on mere adherence to the letter of the rules; there has to be a liberal and human approach. The rules will have to be observed; but their interpretation and enforcement has to be on the basis of service to the common man. The interpretation has to follow the spirit of the rules and not necessarily the letter.

This brings me to an important aspect of the present state of rules of accounting and auditing, etc. It has to be remembered that the basic framework of the present set of rules, whatever they may be—and I am told there are volumes of them—had been made at least more than half a century ago. At that time, the character of the government was different. The government was directed and controlled by foreigners and the State was conceived more as a police state than a welfare one. Beyond attending to law and order, it did not concern itself much with the welfare of the people in every branch of human life. The contentment and the happiness of the people was their concern only to the extent of seeing that the situation did not go to the point of bursting out in revolt against authority. *The present conception of government, apart from the way it is constituted, is that it exists for the welfare of the citizens. That is the pivot on which all interpretation of rules and laws has to revolve.* Observance of the rules on the old fundamentals has been causing an amount of avoidable delays and irritation and

“One Indivisible Whole”

[The following observations were made by the HON'BLE SHRI G. V. MAVALANKAR—Speaker of the Lok Sabha (House of the People) in the Indian Parliament—in the course of an address to the Conference of the Chairmen of the Public Accounts Committees of all the legislatures in India. He has drawn attention to an aspect of the functioning of Parliamentary Democracy, which is seldom discussed in the literature of Public Administration and could hardly be more ably or authoritatively stated.—Ed.]

THOUGH the entire set up for the government of the people is conceived as one whole for the benefit of the people and even though the division of work is also made with that purpose, it is yet unfortunately too true that *the several parts of the administrative machinery have yet to go a long way before there could be perfect understanding and co-operation between the different constituent parts so as to make them as one indivisible whole in outlook, spirit and functions.* It is perhaps inherent in human nature to forget the main purpose and to be individualistic while working with others for the same purpose and towards the same end. That is why we find many times conflicts not only of views but in action also, between the various constituents of the administration. The Legislatures feel that the Executive governments are not properly respecting their wishes. The Executive feel that the Legislatures are interfering too much and hindering their work by raising various issues, points and doubts. The Executive and the Legislatures both feel that the Judiciary is putting a brake on their forward march and all these feel that the auditor is a source of great trouble because he raises various types of objections about the competency or propriety of this or that expenditure. And the point to be noted is that all these feelings are quite *bona fide* and sincere.

That there should be this feeling of mutual inconvenience or irritation towards one another, by the various links of the administration as a whole, is undoubtedly an unfortunate situation. But it is no use and will serve no purpose, if we try to ignore the existence of the situation as a matter of fact. *We have, therefore, to make a conscious effort of getting over the situation by a proper appreciation and understanding of*

the purpose of the entire governmental set up, the spirit that ought to pervade that set up and the fact that all the links ought to go together to make one homogeneous whole. This can be achieved only in course of time and by a realisation that all the various branches are expected to co-operate with each other with an understanding of the difficulties of each, which have to be overcome by mutual help and co-operation. It is not that the duty of one is only to find fault with the other and to show that the fault or defect in the administration is the result of something done or not done by the other. To whomsoever the defect may be attributed, so far as the ordinary citizen is concerned, he has to suffer the consequences ; and he knows no separate departments or branches of administration, but he lays the blame at the doors of the government. The Audit and Accounts Officers as well as Parliamentary Committees of the Legislatures have to function bearing this aspect in mind. Enforcing adherence to rules, though essential, is sometimes likely to be oppressive, if stress is laid on mere adherence to the letter of the rules; there has to be a liberal and human approach. The rules will have to be observed; but their interpretation and enforcement has to be on the basis of service to the common man. The interpretation has to follow the spirit of the rules and not necessarily the letter.

This brings me to an important aspect of the present state of rules of accounting and auditing, etc. It has to be remembered that the basic framework of the present set of rules, whatever they may be—and I am told there are volumes of them—had been made at least more than half a century ago. At that time, the character of the government was different. The government was directed and controlled by foreigners and the State was conceived more as a police state than a welfare one. Beyond attending to law and order, it did not concern itself much with the welfare of the people in every branch of human life. The contentment and the happiness of the people was their concern only to the extent of seeing that the situation did not go to the point of bursting out in revolt against authority. *The present conception of government, apart from the way it is constituted, is that it exists for the welfare of the citizens. That is the pivot on which all interpretation of rules and laws has to revolve.* Observance of the rules on the old fundamentals has been causing an amount of avoidable delays and irritation and

many a time consequent frustration in matters of administration. It is high time, to my mind, that these rules are revised as early as possible ; and though rules will be necessary, when one is concerned with vast administration, they ought not to be so voluminous as to make the observance of rules, a matter for experts only. Their number may be small and they may consist of directives on fundamental principles. *The higher officers have to be left a discretion and latitude instead of there being a rule for every little contingency or situation that may arise. If such detailed rules are to be insisted upon, I do not see why we should have a large number of high grade officers.* The principal objective is to bring about honesty in public expenditure coupled with expedition of business and minimum internal rub or friction.

—:0:—

Some thousands of years ago the following precepts were laid down for the Egyptian Civil Service :—

“Be courteous and tactful as well as honest and diligent. All your doings are publicly known, and must therefore be Beyond complaint or criticism. Be absolutely impartial. Always give a reason for refusing a plea ; complainants Like a kindly hearing even more than a successful plea. Preserve dignity but avoid inspiring fear. Be an artist in Words, that you may be strong, for the tongue is a Sword....”

—Quoted by Sir Ernest Gowers in
‘The Complete Plain Words’.

Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public

The Right Hon. C. R. Attlee

*(We are grateful to the author, and the Editor of the Political
Quarterly, London for permitting us to
reproduce this article—Ed.)*

WHEN I succeeded Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister and returned to the conference at Potsdam, I took with me precisely the same team of civil servants, including even the principal private secretary, as had served my predecessor. This occasioned a lively surprise among our American friends who were accustomed to the American system whereby the leading official advisers of the President and of the members of his Cabinet are usually politically of his and their own colour. The incident brought out forcibly the very special position of the British Civil Service, a position which has developed during the past hundred years as the result of the Trevelyan-Northcote reforms.

I do not think that this remarkable attribute of impartiality in the British Civil Service is sufficiently widely known nor adequately recognized for what it is—one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy. I am often at pains to point this out and did so at a recent conference of Asiatic socialists in Rangoon where I told them, to their surprise, that the same men who had worked out the details of Labour's Transport Act were now, at the behest of a Conservative Government, engaged in pulling it to pieces.

I doubt if this impartiality is sufficiently realized even here at home. There were certainly some people in the Labour Party who doubted whether the civil servants would give fair play to a socialist government, but all doubts disappeared with experience.

In this article I propose to say something of the relationship between the civil servant, the Minister, Parliament, and the public, drawing on what has now become a considerable experience.

The first thing a Minister finds on entering office is that he can depend absolutely on the loyalty of his staff and, on leaving office, he will seldom be able to say what the private political views are even of those with whom he has worked most closely. The second thing that he will discover is that the civil servant is prepared to put up every possible objection to his policy, not from a desire to thwart him, but because it is his duty to see that the Minister understands all the difficulties and dangers of the course which he wishes to adopt. Of course, a weak Minister may give way to this opinion voiced by one so much more experienced than himself. This may be gratifying to the civil servant who likes to run the office himself, regarding the Minister as a necessary evil, but, more usually, the Minister who takes this line of least resistance will have forfeited the respect of his staff and, if the Prime Minister is doing his job, will forfeit his office. The strong Minister, on the other hand, will argue with his advisers refuting, if he can, their arguments and seeking to persuade them of the validity of his point of view. After a reasonable period of discussion, he will say: "Well, this is my policy, I don't want to argue it any more. Now let us consider how best to implement it." He will then find the civil servant doing his utmost to help and throwing himself into the work with enthusiasm.

I recall, in this regard, a time when I was working with the late Lord Addison, Minister of Agriculture in the second Labour Government, when he was framing the Agricultural Marketing Bill. Sir Arthur Street, an outstanding civil servant, offered a most strenuous opposition to it, but three weeks later one could have got an affiliation order against him as its only begetter.

Civil servants must develop philosophical minds in relation to Ministers. They have to take what is given to them but, in my opinion, they prefer a "difficult" Minister to one who is of no account. They like to have someone who will put up a fight, someone in whom they can have some pride.

The civil servant in the higher ranks has not only a long personal experience, but also has that mysterious tradition of the office wherein is somehow embalmed the wisdom of past generations. Of course, sometimes it is necessary to react violently against the tradition which was formed for a different state of society.

I suppose that a good departmental Minister is born not made. There are people who somehow manage to weld the whole of the department into a devoted team. Two men, in my experience, had this gift of inspiring their officials, from the highest to the lowest, in an exceptional degree—Lord Addison and Ernest Bevin.

Lord Addison—or Dr. Addison as he then was—managed to get through the House of Commons, although Labour was in a minority, several important Bills. I recall, in particular, the Agricultural Marketing Bill. I remember how he called together the whole of the marketing staff and discussed his proposals with them. Even the most junior was encouraged to make suggestions. In consequence, he got the whole of the department enthusiastically behind him. He had the gift of persuasion which he carried also to the House of Commons where he got not only his own supporters on the committee but eventually his political opponents working as members of a team trying simply to do a good job of work.

It is well known how Ernest Bevin, a man of a very different background from most of the men of the Foreign Service, got not only the respect but the affection of all his staff—from ambassadors to messengers. This was partly due to the fact that he took such pains to see that everyone had a square deal. Every official felt that Ernest Bevin had an interest in him.

The good civil servant studies his Minister's ways and saves him trouble. Some Ministers like to read everything for themselves; others have but a slight appetite for the written word and like what they do read to be predigested. Some like to do their work by personal contact; others are better as correspondents. Some do not know how to concentrate on essentials; others are caught out by lack of attention to detail.

A particular relationship is that between the Minister and his official private secretary. The latter is generally comparatively junior. Appointment to the private office usually means that he is regarded as promising. I always compare this to the appointment of a regimental officer to the staff. Certainly a young man chosen for the Prime Minister's secretariat may congratulate himself on having taken a step up. I have had many private secretaries—all of them very good—yet the post is exacting.

The secretary needs great tact, firstly, in dealing with the Minister and, secondly, in relation to the senior civil servants with whom he is brought into contact. The secretary must study the idiosyncrasies of his master and learn how tactfully to prevent him making a blunder. He must know how to help him, for Ministers differ very much in their methods of work. He is, too, brought into contact with the Minister's home and family. Here again tact may be required.

I should think that it must be very difficult to switch suddenly after a change of government from serving an adherent of one party to being the helper of a member of another, but I have known private secretaries who have made the transition without apparent difficulty and who have served blue and red with equal loyalty.

The relationship of the high-up civil servant and the junior Minister is sometimes difficult. In the absence of the Minister, the Permanent Secretary considers himself in charge—as indeed he is—but the Under-Secretary is a member of the Government and, in particular, is a politician and a member of Parliament. Although new to office and perhaps somewhat raw, he is better versed in some matters than the civil servant. This naturally leads on to the relationship of the civil servant to Parliament of which more anon, but Sir William Harcourt's famous dictum, "The Minister exists to tell the civil servant what the public won't stand", is always to be borne in mind.

It has to be remembered that the Under-Secretary of to-day is perhaps the Cabinet Minister of to-morrow. I have known instances in the past where the permanent officials used to treat the Under-Secretary as of very little account. This is not a wise thing to do, for the young Minister must be trained and given responsibility if he is to grow up. Besides he may be the Minister of the future and a man of influence.

Every Minister naturally wants to get hold of the ablest civil servant for the headship of his department. If he is a junior departmental Minister he should look at any gift horse presented to him by the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury very narrowly. He would be wise to consult his colleague under whom the postulant has served. He may, of course, be a brilliant and rising young man but, quite likely, he is a failure who is being passed on to the less experienced pending his welcome retirement.

On the other hand, a Minister should not be selfish. If there is a brilliant man coming on, he should not stand in the way of his promotion and transfer to another department, for the good of the whole must come first.

I was once asked what was the function of the civil servant in relation to the House of Commons. I replied that he sat in a dark seat under the gallery and listened to his Minister dropping bricks. But this is only part of the truth. The civil servant has to keep an eye on the House of Commons all the time.

I always consider that question time in the House is one of the finest examples of real democracy. One questioner may ask about world-shaking events, while another will ask why Mrs. Smith of 5 Slum Alley, Coketown, was refused public assistance, or why the Post Office at Little Pedlington was closed last Friday. The effect of questions to the Minister and still more questions asked publicly in the House, is to keep the whole of the Civil Service on their toes. It is very seldom that any British civil servant is accused of rudeness or arrogance of the kind that is found sometimes in the *petit fonctionnaire* in other countries. At the time of writing the public mind is somewhat exercised over the Crichton Down affair. Undoubtedly, there was here a case where some civil servants failed to live up to the high tradition, but it should not be taken as typical. Indeed, the very fact of the interest aroused by this instance emphasized how exceptional it was. Complaint of arrogance or rudeness can always be made to the local member of Parliament. I believe that this is thoroughly salutary though it has a less useful side. It may induce in the civil servant a certain hesitation and nervousness in dealing with affairs. It may also lead to an over-centralization. This is due to the Permanent Secretary feeling too strongly the need for not embarrassing his Minister.

When I became Postmaster-General, I found what I considered to be an overcentralization in that office. Everything was channelled through the Permanent Secretary, Sir George Murray, and though this was partly due to the somewhat autocratic habit of mind of that distinguished public servant, it was also due to the fact that any minor mistake in the widespread network of the postal, telephone and telegraph services might be made the subject of a question in the House. As a matter of fact, I took certain steps towards decentraliza-

tion and to a system of public relations. I might add that it was this fear of the effect on administration of detailed day-to-day parliamentary supervision that was a factor in setting up public boards in nationalized industries instead of following the Post Office precedent.

A civil servant should rarely, if ever, be mentioned by name in the House. Everything that he does is the act of the Minister and it is the duty of the Minister to defend his servants and to take full responsibility.

Here comes in the need for Parliamentary experience. A Minister who has been long in the House understands its temper and what it will and will not take. Furthermore, he understands just what are the points on which his party feels strongly. This knowledge is necessarily outside the range of the official. Thus a neat and tidy scheme put up by a devoted civil servant may be technically correct, but it may not be acceptable to the House of Commons.

An example occurred when I was working with the late Lord Addison. A Bill was put up by a civil servant. As we were a minority government we expected to have difficulty in getting our legislation through. The ingenious official drafted a Bill with a minimum number of clauses on the ground that this would give few opportunities for long discussions on "Clause stand part". All the meat of the Bill was put into schedules. I had to point out that nothing annoyed members more than a Bill which was obscure and meaningless without constant reference to schedules. I redrafted it to make it simple and intelligible and, despite a larger number of clauses, it went through.

Equally, the Minister is more in touch with the ordinary man and woman than the civil servant. Something which seems quite reasonable to the middle-class professional may not go down with working people. I always found the late George Tomlinson a good touchstone in these matters. I would say: "Well, what do you think of this, George?" He would answer: "It looks all right, but I've been trying to persuade my missus about it for the last three weeks and I can't convince her." It is the business of the Minister to bring in the common touch.

I expect that in his heart of hearts the civil servant thinks of Parliament as a necessary nuisance. He is liable to

be called off from what he regards as more important work to search out the answer to some question which seems to him of little importance. The plan embodied in a Bill to which he has given so much work is likely to be altered in committee, probably, in his view, for the worse, while he is likely to waste a lot of time in the precincts of the House waiting for business which, after all, does not come on at the expected time. He may prepare an admirable note for his Minister on an amendment which is not called. Worse still, his Minister may have failed to understand it and may suffer humiliation at the hands of the Opposition while he sits impotently by. It may be, too, that, despite all his care in arming himself with every possible point of information, someone asks for some particular figures which he has not got, to the disgust of the agitated Parliamentary Private Secretary whom his Minister has despatched to seek light from "under the gallery". Sometimes, he has a sweet revenge when the persistent interlocutor of to-day is the Minister of yesterday and he is able to tell his Minister that action now so roundly condemned was in fact the work of that very man.

The civil servant, in dealing with the House, will find an invaluable assistant in the Parliamentary Private Secretary if he is worth his salt. He can often persuade a member to withdraw an awkward question or to arrange for a question to be put which will enable the Minister to show himself in a favourable light. The P.P.S. also knows what is going on in the House and can give timely warning that business which was thought to be going to take an hour is unlikely to last more than ten minutes, thus enabling the civil servant to avoid the disgrace of having his Minister absent when he should be in the House.

The civil servant soon learns that sufferance is the badge of all his tribe. He learns to expect more kicks than ha'pence. For some reason the press, for the most part, tend to regard him either as an idle parasite or as a meddling busybody. The first conception is no doubt a hangover from an earlier age when the happy beneficiaries of the patronage system fleeted the time merrily, but even to-day he is often thought of as a consumer of many cups of tea, enjoying a sheltered life. A certain type of business man is prone to regard the civil servant as someone who is battenning on the community. He is one of "a horde of officials". All officials move in hordes. If he were doing precisely similar work for the business man he would become "a valuable member of my staff".

The civil servant must never defend himself publicly. That is left to his Minister, but if the latter does it, the journalist says : "Of course, he has to defend his subordinates." Nowadays the institution of public relations officers has done something to mitigate this hostility to officials, especially since the extension of Governmental activity has brought so many more in contact with officials who, generally, are both courteous and helpful. Here and there, as is inevitable, you do find the "jack in office", but he is a rare bird.

When I was Postmaster-General, there was then a good deal of criticism of postal officials in the press and every little mistake was publicized, but later when I was able to arrange for some advertising of the telephone in the press there was a magical change.

There is one matter which causes some difficulty. Formerly, with few exceptions, the higher ranks of the Civil Service were filled by arts graduates. The specialist in science or technology was very rare, but nowadays progress of scientific inventions has meant that a different type of worker is required. But the competition for first-class scientific minds is intense and the ordinary Civil Service rates of pay compare unfavourably with what is offered in private industry. This inevitably sets up a strain in the administrative machine. The same difficulty may occur in relation to technicians or people from the world of business. In war the difficulty hardly arises but in peace-time it is very real and has not yet been solved.

I have said little here about the lower grades of the Civil Service though much of what I have said applies to them as much as to the administrative class. I am sure that some promotion is desirable as a stimulus. The Post Office sets a good example here for there are many instances of telegraph boys eventually arriving at positions of great importance. This, however, is part of the wider problems of recruitment and organization with which it is not my purpose to deal.

In general, the civil servant must be content with anonymity and obscurity until, in due course, his name appears in the higher categories of the birthday honours. Perhaps, after his retirement, he may become widely known. Every now and again there appears in the ranks of the Civil Service a bright star like Lord Waverley who shines brilliantly in a wider

firmament but, for the most part, the civil servant must rest content with the consciousness of good work honestly done.

He may, at all events, feel that however modest his own achievements, he forms part of a service unequalled in all the world—one of the causes of a just pride in his fellow countrymen.

—:0:—

“Men must be taught as if you taught them not, and things unknown proposed as things forgot.”

× × × ×

“If a training scheme provided acceptable candidates, no problem about their employment would arise. If, however, they proved unacceptable, either the initial selection or the system of training would have been at fault.”

× × × ×

“Americans or Britishers, business men or Civil Servants, soldiers, or scientists, in this field we are all dealing with the same material—human nature. As far as my experience goes it reacts in the same way to the same stimuli whatever the type of organisation in which it happens to be employed.”

—From *‘Training Managers
in the Public Services’*

Health Programme in the Community Project Areas

Barkat Narain

THE object of the Community Development Programme is to raise the standard of living of the people of the project areas. The major emphasis in the Programme is naturally on agricultural development and other measures calculated to improve the economic status of the people. But unless the people are healthy, they cannot enjoy the full benefits of improvement. Moreover, the health of the people determines the volume and quality of the human resources available for the production of goods and services. The true success of the Community Projects will, therefore, depend considerably upon the satisfactory maintenance of the health of the community.

The Community Project Programme was first inaugurated in October 1952 when 55 Community Projects, each covering a population of 2,90,000 and comprising three Blocks, were allocated. Fifty three additional Community Project Blocks were established in October 1953. Six hundred and seven National Extension Service Blocks have also been set up and of these, 132 have been recently converted into Community Project Blocks. Each of the Community Project Blocks and the NES Blocks allocated since 1953 covers a population of about 66,000 spread over about 100 villages.

In the NES Blocks the effort is mainly concentrated on agriculture and animal husbandry, but in the project areas the truly multi-purpose programme aims at simultaneous development in a variety of fields such as agriculture, animal husbandry, health, social education, cottage industries and the like.

The existing medical and health facilities for the rural population are singularly inadequate, as is also the supply of trained personnel for medical and public health work. In the field of environmental sanitation, conditions are deplorable, particularly in regard to water supply and disposal of human excreta. Most of the epidemic diseases have their

origin in rural areas and some 2,500,000 persons die every year in India from filth-borne diseases, like cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea and typhoid. Malaria has also been taking a heavy toll.

An integrated programme for the development of health services in the Community Project areas has, therefore, been launched. It combines both curative and preventive measures, with particular emphasis on the prevention of disease. Fortunately, a great deal of sickness in rural areas is preventable. The programme mainly comprises (i) the establishment of primary health centres, (ii) the provision of safe water for drinking, and (iii) measures for rural sanitation. It is further proposed to establish Maternity and Child Welfare centres in the backward areas, each Centre serving a population of about 60,000.

In the NES Blocks, provision for the development of medical and health facilities is made only in the form of grants-in-aid to the existing medical institutions and for local works, i.e. drainage, sanitation, etc. Efforts are being made to provide medical and health facilities in most of the NES Blocks which will be allocated in the Second Five Year Plan. The Fourth Development Commissioners' Conference which recently met at Simla unanimously recommended that medical and health services should be provided in the NES Blocks.

The pace of development of public health services was slow in the early stages of the programme but is now gaining momentum. Most of the difficulties have been overcome by now in many States, but some States have still to surmount them. Some of the major obstacles impeding quick implementation of the programme are briefly discussed here.

Lack of Co-ordination : The most important factor which hampered progress in the beginning in the majority of the States, was the lack of adequate co-ordination between the Departments of Health and Development. The Development Departments felt that the responsibility for provision of health services in Community Projects rested primarily with them. Health services in community development areas were developed in isolation from the normal health services and programmes of the States. In some of the States recruitment of medical and health personnel was made by the Development Department—the advertisements appearing in the newspapers stated that the *medical officers were required by the*

Development Commissioner for the community development areas. This practice persisted even after the issue of a letter by the Community Projects Administration in October, 1953, clarifying that the function of the Development Commissioners was not to run independent services of their own, but to co-ordinate the activities of various departments for initiating and executing an integrated programme of community development. The Health Departments resented being kept out of the picture in the project areas, and at the conference of Health Secretaries convened by the Central Ministry of Health on the 21st and 22nd April, 1954, many Health Secretaries gave strong expression to this feeling. The difficulty has now been cleared up at the State level ; though it persists in some States at the Project and Block levels. Some Project Executive Officers and Block Development Officers still insist on issuing operational instructions to the technical staff concerned with the health programme.

There is also a lack of full co-ordination between the Medical Department and the Department of Public Health in those States which have not yet effected an integration of their curative and preventive services. In such States, there is a Director of Medical Services or a Surgeon-General who is the administrative head of the curative services and a separate Director of Public Health who is responsible for the preventive services. The training of nurses, midwives, etc., recruited to the preventive services, has to be arranged through the Director of Medical Services or the Surgeon-General, as the case may be. The Health Survey and Development Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1944 had recommended that there should be an integration of the curative and preventive services in all the States and that the Administrative Medical Officer should possess public health qualifications and experience. Unfortunately, some States did not accept the recommendations and many of those who did, have not been able to appoint an Administrative Medical Officer with public health qualifications and experience. Consequently, the preventive services, particularly in the field of environmental sanitation, have not received the attention they deserve. It may be interesting to note that in one of the States, an officer of the Indian Administrative Service held the appointment of the Director of Health Services for over two years and it was only recently that a superannuated Civil Surgeon replaced him. In another State a layman has been

appointed as an Honorary Adviser for rural sanitation.

Recruitment of Personnel and Training : To begin with, there was considerable difficulty in persuading doctors to go to the rural areas. Their reluctance was mainly due to low scales of salaries, the very limited scope for private practice and the lack of adequate accommodation. The majority of States have succeeded in removing these difficulties by offering adequate salary, non-practising and rural allowances, higher initial start in the existing pay scales and suitable accommodation. One State has recently introduced an interesting innovation by issuing an order that all medical officers in the State service shall, after an initial spell of two years in an urban hospital, serve for a period of three years in the rural areas. Every Medical Officer in the State will thus take his turn and provide essential services to the people in the rural areas.

With regard to staff for maternity and child welfare work, *i.e.* health visitors and midwives, there is the additional difficulty of the lack of trained personnel. To meet this shortage, the Central Ministry of Health have sponsored many training schemes, offering substantial financial assistance and stipends to the trainees. Some States have taken advantage of these facilities while others are still considering the matter, even though these schemes started nearly 18 months ago. Evidently, the sense of urgency so essential for carrying out the integrated programme of health services is not uniformly felt in all the States. Despite the difficulty in recruiting qualified staff, some State Governments discourage applicants from outside and restrict recruitment to their own residents.

Environmental Sanitation : The position has been steadily improving. Here the supply of drinking water takes precedence over other requirements. Water has always been a primary necessity of life but it is only now that people have begun to realise that safe water helps appreciably to reduce the incidence of gastro-intestinal diseases like typhoid, dysentery, cholera, etc. For improving the supply of good water, many States have set up Public Health Engineering Organisations, though not always under the Departments of Health. Some States have a separate Well-Sinking Department but their engineers do not always appreciate the importance of proper sanitary wells and that it is desirable to get the

site and blue-prints approved by the District Health Officer. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the villagers have shown great eagerness to be assured of a safe water supply and local contributions in the form of money, material and labour are more readily offered for this purpose. The Government of India have come forward with schemes of financial assistance for the improvement of water supply both in the urban and rural areas. A sum of Rs. 12 crores has been earmarked for the urban area and Rs. 6 crores for the rural area. The latter will be an out-right grant.

With regard to hygienic disposal of human excreta the response has been rather poor, mainly because those responsible for the development of this aspect of the programme (other than health staff) do not fully appreciate its importance. The training of Village Level Workers, Block Development Officers and Social Education Organizers in the field of public health requires to be intensified. The Village Level Worker who is the key man for enlightening the people how the programme can meet their real needs and the Social Education Organizer who can educate the villagers in respect of the social evils of soil pollution and water contamination, should be thoroughly orientated in their duties. The authorities (other than the Departments of Health) in many States are mixing up the question of the disposal of human excreta with its manurial value. At this early phase when all-out efforts are needed to get the people's co-operation in matters of rural sanitation, the emphasis on the manurial value of human excreta will obviously hinder the progress of the programme. After all, the total value as a manure is likely to be insignificant as compared with the benefits which would accrue from the prevention of diseases.

Health Education can also help considerably in the improvement of environmental sanitation. It has now been recommended that all public institutions, especially Primary Schools, should be provided with sanitary latrines and urinals. The authorities responsible for drawing up plans of the rural schools seldom provide for a latrine.

People's participation is now readily forthcoming for the construction of dispensaries, health centres, maternity wards and labour rooms. The villagers who had so far been denied elementary treatment for ordinary diseases, have

welcomed the programme for setting up dispensaries and the provision of maternity aid.

To sum up, the successful execution of health programme in Community Projects demands full co-ordination between the Development Department and other technical departments at the State, District and Block level. Further all the medical and health services in the area must be under a unified administrative control. Many States have attained a good measure of co-ordination, co-operation and unified administrative control. Some States still have to effect these changes. The quality and magnitude of health services to be provided in community projects will, in the last analysis, depend upon the extent to which the various arms of the administration pull together for the attainment of the common goal.

—:0:—

"A democracy cannot afford to lose faith in the people's capacity to organize their own life for progress. Losing such faith a democracy would lose its hope of survival. And yet the growing emphasis on official action in some States raises by no means unreasonable doubts about this very faith. Impatience with the working of one institution often leads to the formation of another ad hoc one. As, however, the people are the same in both sets of institutions, the newer bodies show up the same old seams and blots as their newness wears off.....If only all, officials as well as leaders, were to grasp that an active rural democracy is the only instrument of lasting rural regeneration the frequent swings of the pendulum between energetic official action and popular apathy would be avoided."

D. G. KARVE
(in 'Evaluation Report on
Second Year's Working
of Community Projects')

The Structure of Development Administration

U. L. Goswami

WHEN the Community Development Programme was inaugurated in October 1952, it was intended to be a pilot experiment confined to 55 Project areas spread out all over the country and their future rate of expansion was uncertain. It was an experiment in development administration in which "the emphasis was on popular effort organised under the leadership of a specially selected band of officers receiving co-operation from normal official agencies". In these circumstances it was natural that the Development Commissioners who were in charge of implementation of the programme in the States should try to ensure the optimum administrative and other conditions for the success of the experiment. This resulted in a tendency to develop a parallel administrative structure. Quite often the boundaries of Blocks and Projects were drawn without regard to the existing administrative boundaries and the officers in charge of the Projects were made directly responsible to the Development Commissioner and not to the District officer.

As the programme expanded and more and more Blocks came to be taken up it was found that this arrangement was giving rise to certain serious administrative problems. In the first place there was a noticeable tendency for the Development Commissioner to build up a separate Development Department of his own, and the existing Departments of Government, like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Education, etc., 'co-operated' only by fits and starts. Secondly, the problem of inspection and supervision of the actual field work was becoming increasingly difficult for the Development Commissioner and his small staff at Headquarters. Thirdly, the speed of execution of the programme was being impeded by lack of delegation of authority to the lower officers and by excessive centralisation. Finally, it was becoming progressively less feasible to ensure the flow of the best technical advice available in the State to the Village Level Worker, particularly in non-agricultural spheres.

The subsequent administrative changes have been directed towards the solution of the problems mentioned above. To ensure co-ordination, it has been found necessary in practically all the States for the Chief Minister to take charge of the programme at the policy level. As the Chairman of the State Development Committee, consisting of his Cabinet colleagues in charge of the various Development Departments of the State, the Chief Minister is able to bring about a co-ordinated and unified approach to the planning and implementation of this programme which affects everyone of the Development Departments in their normal functioning. The arrangement at the top official level is only a reflection of the arrangement at Minister-level and it has been found necessary to entrust the duties at the top official level either to the Chief Secretary himself, or to an officer who, by virtue of his seniority, ability and the normal functions of his office, is in a position to secure the needed co-ordination. This top official, usually designated as the Development Commissioner, has, in turn, to avoid assuming direct departmental responsibility in respect of any department of Government, and has to act merely as the leader of a team consisting of the Heads of the different Development Departments of the Government at the State Headquarters. Whether he is the Chief Secretary himself or an officer of an analogous status it has been found necessary for him to have full powers to issue orders in the name of the Government.

In all States, other than very small ones, it has become impossible for the Development Commissioner to inspect and supervise the field work sufficiently closely. The need for utilisation of Divisional Commissioners for the purpose of inspection and supervision is making itself increasingly felt. Wherever Commissionerships have not been abolished, these officers are being so utilised. Some difficulties have arisen in States which have a Board of Revenue rather than Divisional Commissioners with regional jurisdiction. It seems likely that even in States with well established Boards some sort of regional distribution of work will sooner or later have to be introduced.

It was soon clear that problems of co-ordination had to be solved not merely at the State Headquarters, but also at the district and sub-divisional levels. In order to make the programme a success, it was necessary that the technical officers

at the district and sub-divisional levels should work together as a team. The obvious course was, therefore, to confer on the Collector at the district level, and on the Sub-Divisional Officer at the sub-divisional level, the kind of coordinational functions which had been conferred on the Development Commissioner at the State level. It was found that this arrangement also facilitated greatly an adequate delegation of powers necessary for the establishment of a quick and elastic system of administration. With these delegations it was no longer necessary for small schemes to be sent up to the State Headquarters for approval with all the consequent delay. The Collector, so long as he did not deviate greatly from the basic pattern of development expenditure communicated from State Headquarters, could be depended upon to sanction the individual schemes involving an expenditure of substantial sums of money. "While there are still some noticeable differences of emphasis and practice", as the Second Evaluation Report points out, "it would not be wrong to say that the Collector is well on the way to becoming the Principal Developmental and Welfare Officer of the District." For a proper functioning of this system it will be desirable to give adequate relief to the Collector on the revenue and general administration side. This has not been done everywhere, although the tendency is to appoint an Additional Collector in most districts. There are still a number of districts which are too large and they are not manageable charges for a single officer entrusted with all these functions. Administrative re-organisation of the districts and sub-divisions will have to be faced in the States sooner or later and the question of providing adequate relief to the Collector will also need early attention particularly in the light of the additional burdens which are being imposed on the Collector as a result of the recent developments in land policy.

At the sub-divisional level it is not universal for the Sub-Divisional Officer to reside within his territorial jurisdiction. Here again, the territorial jurisdiction is itself quite often too large for effective management. This is particularly true of Madras and Andhra where the territorial jurisdiction of the revenue divisional officer was increased after the separation of judiciary from the executive. The size of sub-divisions will have to be reduced in a number of cases if the Sub-Divisional Officer is to discharge effectively his responsi-

ibility in the sphere of development in addition to his duties in respect of revenue and general administration.

When the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer were brought into the picture of development administration, some doubts were expressed about the propriety of conferring extension functions on these officers, who had hitherto discharged regulatory and revenue functions exclusively. This point of view was not fully valid because the functions of the Collector and the revenue divisional officer were never entirely regulatory and in course of years a great deal of development functions had come to be grafted on their original regulatory functions. The Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer were by virtue of their position in the official hierarchy the natural leaders of the official teams at the district and sub-divisional levels and they were also capable of becoming multi-purpose men who were expected to take the lead in the development of the areas entrusted to their charge. It was, therefore, a logical arrangement for them to be brought into the picture and to be made fully responsible for the success or failure of the programme in their respective areas. Although there have been some instances of officers even at these levels employing methods which can hardly be described as educational, by and large, the experiment of entrusting extension functions to them has been justified by the results.

Of late, a body of opinion is growing up in the country in favour of extending the principle of combination of functions, regulatory and developmental, in the same functionary beyond the sub-divisional level. The suggestion now is that the *Tahsildar* or *Mamlatdar* or Circle Officer, as he is variously called in different parts of the country, should be the Block Development Officer, in addition to his normal functions. By the same token, there should be a similar combination of functions at the village level and the existing single-purpose functionaries, like Agricultural Supervisors, Co-operative Inspectors and Revenue Inspectors should be transformed into multi-purpose village level workers by giving them the necessary training. To complete the picture, the *Patwari* (village accountant) should become the Assistant Village Level Worker.

The main considerations in favour of such a combination of functions briefly are :

- (1) economy of expenditure on staff ;

- (2) avoidance of a multiplicity of agencies and establishment of a single line of administration in which the people in the Block do not have to go to more than one functionary for assistance with their problems ; and
- (3) avoidance of all possible friction between the development machinery and the normal executive machinery of the State.

The integrationists point out that they are only carrying to the logical conclusion the accepted principle of transforming the existing machinery of Government into a welfare agency. They urge that the system recommended by them is simple, inexpensive and easily intelligible to the villager.

On the other hand, there are powerful arguments against this combination of functions being carried, at this stage, beyond the sub-divisional level. In brief, the case against integration is as follows :—

- (i) The functions at the Block and village levels, unlike at the district and sub-divisional levels, are not those of co-ordination only, but of direct implementation.
- (ii) Considering the tradition, background and training of the existing functionaries at the Block and the village levels, the combination of functions is likely to result in the extension role of the functionary being adversely affected by the exercise of his regulatory powers.
- (iii) The implementation of the developmental and extension programme will impose on the functionaries at the Block and village levels a load which would make it difficult for these functionaries to combine this work with any other work without detriment to their development and extension work.

The administrative system must conform to the requirements of the basic programme which it is expected to administer. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission in describing the basic objective of the National Extension Movement has stated as follows :—

"The aim of National Extension Service is not merely to provide for ample food, clothing, shelter, health and recreational facilities in the village. All these are there. But more important than all this material improvement is the realisation that what is required is a change in the mental outlook of the people, instilling in them an ambition for higher standards of life and the will and the determination to work for such standards. This is essentially a human problem : how to change the outlook of the 70 million families living in the countryside, arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life and fill them with the ambition and the will to live a better life."

In assessing the suitability, or otherwise, of any administrative arrangement, we have, therefore, to ask ourselves constantly the question : will the administrative arrangement which we are recommending succeed in bringing about the silent revolution in the mental outlook of our rural population which is the fundamental objective of this great movement? The crux of the question is whether we really believe in the possibility of stimulating such a mental revolution or whether we are merely seeking to improve the condition of the villager, in spite of himself, without producing any change in his mental outlook. Differences in attitude towards particular administrative arrangements probably stem mainly from differences in one's belief about the relative importance of alternative objectives. If the objectives were merely to open up, and physically improve the countryside by construction of roads and erection of schools, hospitals, dispensaries and community recreation centres, there could be no serious objection to the development work, in this restricted sense, being entrusted to the normal revenue functionaries, not merely at the district and sub-divisional levels, but also at all other levels. If, however, we are aiming at a change in the mental outlook of the villager one has to consider whether the existing functionaries at the *taluka* or village levels themselves have such a mental outlook that they may safely be entrusted with the discharge of these new extension functions. Furthermore, there is the question : can the combined load of regulatory and developmental work be carried by the same functionary at these levels without detriment to either sphere of work ?

The danger of combining regulatory and extension func-

tions in the same functionary arises from the constant temptation to resort to the shortcut of "coercion", which has been used so freely in the past, and which even today, on the surface, may seem to produce quicker physical results. Instances often come to notice of securing public contribution in the shape of an unofficial surcharge on land revenue. More often than not, such exactions in the name of people's participation do not even evoke any protests.

Then there is the all important question of load of work. Is the *Tahsildar*, *Mamlatdar* or Circle Officer so lightly worked today that he can take on this additional burden of responsibility of development work, even if his area of jurisdiction is decreased or he is given assistance for looking after the revenue work ? The experience of development work during the last two years in the Community Project and NES areas shows that the Block Development Officer has his hands more than full if he is to do justice to development work alone. This argument applies with greater force to the village level. The Village Level Worker with approximately 1300 families living in the villages included within his charge, has found it fairly tough going. It has to be remembered that he should aim at reaching every family living in these villages and he is expected to inspire, educate and persuade each family to accept its share of responsibility in building the new India by adopting a plan for increased production, increased employment and raising family and village levels of living. It is impossible to combine this work with any other work. Revenue functionaries, both at the Block and at the village level, are quite often called upon to take on abnormal work like census work and work relating to elections. Under any system of complete integration, the tendency will always be to give priority to the normal revenue work and other regulatory work, and then to the other tasks like census and elections which are becoming almost a normal feature of revenue administration : development work will come in as a poor third. One has also to remember that an officer is more likely to be taken to task by his superiors for failure to discharge regulatory and revenue functions than for dereliction of duty on the developmental and extension side. Without clear and separately assigned developmental and extension responsibilities it will always be so easy to find excuses for progress not being faster than it is. India can ill afford the

delay. The people's patience with unfulfilled promises will soon wear thin.

Normally revenue and regulatory administration works best when it is routinised. There is not much scope for dynamism in this kind of work. It works like a machine with mechanical efficiency and also with something of the lifelessness of the machine. Obviously development work cannot be done in the same way particularly when development consists of the process of changing the outlook of 70 million families living in comparative ignorance. The first two years of work has imparted to the *Gram Sevak* (Village Level Worker) and the Block Development Officer a sense of urgency and a sense of service in building the 'New India'. There is a very great danger of that sense being lost altogether in the quicksands of official routine as a result of this desire for integration.

There can obviously be nothing sacrosanct about present integration arrangements stopping at the sub-divisional level and not extending any further. The extent to which this process can be carried will depend a great deal on local circumstances. Local variations are therefore inevitable. The broad consideration which will have to be borne in mind is that the administrative arrangements evolved will have to fulfil the requirements of this dynamic movement. With the growth of a healthy *Panchayat* (village council) system in the villages it will be possible to transfer some of the revenue collection and coercive functions of the officials at the village, and even higher levels, to these bodies. But this is bound to take time. States are taking steps to improve the quality of all their services by improved methods of recruitment and improvement of training facilities. As the quality of officers and the training improve it will become increasingly possible for them to take on the dual role without detriment to either side of the work. Combination of functions, regulatory and developmental, in the same functionary is a bit of an administrative tight rope-walking in the case of all persons. It is a question of degree. But the difficulty is infinitely greater at levels below that of the Sub-Divisional Officer. A time will come when further extension of this principle of integration will not be impossible but there are clear indications that the time is not yet.

In the Second Evaluation Report Professor Karve has sounded a note of warning against a rapid extension of the principle of integration. "The plan is", as Professor Karve points out, "to set free the creative energies of the people so that they may build up through their own efforts and through their own institutions a richer and improving social life. Here the goal is essentially cultural and moral, though it has a physical basis and content. These priorities are so vital to the future of community projects as an instrument of building up of a democratic culture in this country, that any developments in their future planning and in administrative structure which endanger these priorities should be halted without loss of time." The Development Commissioners of all the States in India who met in conference recently were generally of the same opinion.

—:0:—

"Too often we try to solve human problems with non-human tools and, what is still more extraordinary, in terms of non-human data. We take data from which all human meaning has been deleted and then are surprised to find that we reach conclusions which have no human significance."

—F. J. ROETHLISBERGER
(in 'Management and Morale')

The Training of The Indian Administrative Service

S. B. Bapat

IN countries with a political organisation of the federal type it is usual for the Federal Government and the Governments of the constituent units to have separate organised services for the administration of the subjects falling within their respective spheres. In India also there are Central Services to administer the Central subjects, such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Income Tax, Customs, Posts & Telegraphs, etc.; the officers of these services are exclusively in the employ of the Central Government. The subjects lying within the field of State autonomy such as Land Revenue, Agriculture, Forests, Education, Health and the like are administered by State Services whose officers are exclusively in the employ of the different State Governments. In addition, India also has, in the "All-India Services", a form of personnel organisation perhaps unparalleled except in Pakistan, namely, services *common* to the Centre and the States—composed of officers who are in the exclusive employ of neither and may at any time be at the disposal of either. One such is the Indian Administrative Service, commonly and conveniently referred to as the I.A.S.

The control and management of such a service is necessarily a joint co-operative affair. The Service is organised in the form of a number of I.A.S. cadres, one for each State. Initial recruitment is made by the Centre on the results of an open competitive examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission. The officers so recruited are allotted to the different State cadres. The strength of each cadre is so fixed as to include a *reserve* of officers who can be deputed for service under the Central Government for one or more "tenures", of three, four or five years before they return again to the State cadre. This ensures that the Central Government has at its disposal the services of officers with first-hand knowledge and experience of conditions in the States, while the States also have officers who are familiar with

Shri S. B. Bapat was Principal, I. A. S. Training School, from June 1948 to February 1955.

the policies and programmes of the Central Government. The majority of individual officers have an opportunity of enjoying at least one spell of duty under the Central Government ; many have more than one such spell.

Another distinctive feature of the I.A.S. is that it is a multi-purpose service composed of "generalist administrators" who are expected, from time to time, to hold posts involving a wide variety of duties and functions e.g. maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue, regulation of trade, commerce or industry, welfare activities in the field of education, health, labour and development and extension work in agriculture and rural reconstruction.

The method of recruitment combines a written examination of a high standard including a variety of subjects of the candidate's own choice, with a searching "personality test" by an interview board in which the candidate must separately attain a minimum standard. This ensures that the young men recruited to the Service possess not only a high level of intelligence and academic learning but also an adequate measure of the qualities of personality and character, such as discernment, clarity of thought and expression, intellectual integrity, self-confidence, self-possession, breadth of outlook and sense of moral and social values—qualities which must be looked for in persons holding responsible administrative positions in any democratic welfare State.

II

The recruitment of basically sound and promising material is, however, only the first step. It is necessary, by carefully designed training, to forge, temper and shape that material into the desired multipurpose instrument of good administration.

In India the traditional approach to the problem of training for the public services has been to "make the man learn the job by doing it" under the supervision of a superior officer. This was essentially the system followed for the training of the Indian Civil Service and it cannot be denied that the system served its purpose well enough in the days when Government was concerned mainly with the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order, and superior officers could spare the time and energy to pay personal attention to the training and development of the new recruits.

However, even before the Second World War, the higher administrative services in India had begun to feel the pressure of the increasing demands of what were in those days called the "nation-building departments". With the outbreak of the war the position deteriorated rapidly. It can truthfully be said that most of the officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Civil Services recruited between 1939 and 1947 had to train themselves as best as they could without benefit of any real supervision and guidance from their superiors who were too heavily pre-occupied with other duties. The end of the war brought no change in the situation in this respect. On the contrary, the necessity for continuing economic controls, the problem of giving relief and rehabilitation to millions of displaced persons and the increasing responsibilities assumed by the Central and State Governments in the field of economic development and welfare, have all combined to maintain heavy pressure on the time and energy of the older and experienced officers of all the Services. Even now, young recruits to the I.A.S. can consider themselves lucky if their superior officers are able to devote enough attention to their training.

Fortunately, these difficulties were largely foreseen on the eve of independence when the decision was taken to create the Indian Administrative Service as a successor to the old Indian Civil Service and some fresh thinking was done on the subject of how the new service should be trained. It was realised that though instruction could never be a complete substitute for experience, the right kind of instruction given as a prelude and a preparation might make it easier and quicker to assimilate the subsequent experience.* Without

*Officers recruited to the old Indian Civil Service used to spend at least a year on probation in England, some at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge and some at the School of Oriental Studies in London. During this period they had to attend lectures on Indian History, Indian Criminal Law and procedure and the appropriate language of the Province to which they had been allotted. For the British recruits, who made up about half the total recruitment every year, this teaching gave some background knowledge of the unknown land in which they were going to serve. For the Indian recruits who constituted the other half, the period of probation in England was primarily intended as a means of acquiring knowledge of western manners and customs and social *savoir-faire*. There was very little in the "training" they received during probation which had any bearing on the job they would have to do as members of the Indian Civil Service.

depreciating in any way the value of "learning on the job" that process could be made more rewarding by furnishing the new recruit with the appropriate equipment before such learning began. A "revised and enlarged" course of basic training was accordingly planned, and it was decided that each year's group of new recruits should be sent as probationers to receive it at a Central institution—the I.A.S. Training School.

III

The generally accepted conception of "training" is a compound of several distinct elements. In one sense, training means the imparting of *knowledge* of facts and their inter-relations—knowledge essentially of a specialised or professional nature ; this is the sense in which the Doctor, the Engineer, the Teacher and the Military Staff Officer are trained. In another sense, training involves the teaching of *techniques* which require the co-ordinated handling of tools and appliances and physical faculties rather than of ideas ; this is the sense in which one speaks of trained artisans and mechanics and athletes and acrobats and soldiers and sailors and airmen. In still another sense, training entails the formation of mental and physical *habit patterns* to ensure that the same stimuli would always produce the same automatic responses ; performing animals in a circus furnish an extreme example, but training of this type is by no means wholly harmful and may indeed play a socially useful part in the creation of disciplined and reliable bodies of men in all walks of life. Finally, and in what is perhaps the most important sense, training implies what the good gardener does to the growing sapling—pruning off the unwanted bits, supporting the weaker limbs, generally giving shape and direction but otherwise leaving the plant free to grow to its full natural stature. While all other aspects of training were duly allowed for, it was this last named aspect which has been most emphasised in the pattern evolved for the basic training of the I.A.S. probationers.

One basic need was to remove from the minds of the new recruits any misconception which may have lingered from the pre-Independence days regarding the proper place and role of the public services in the functioning of Parliamentary Democracy. The officers of the old Indian Civil Service had earned a great deal of prestige and respect for ability, devotion to duty and, by and large, a sincere desire to work

for the good of the people. But that ability and devotion was essentially at the service of an alien authority and the people themselves had little effective voice in deciding what was good for them. Even when the reforms of 1935-37 introduced Ministries responsible to elected legislatures at the Provincial level the main picture was not altered very much, for the most important matters in the provincial sphere were still decided at the discretion or individual judgment of the British Governors, while the Central Government continued to be wholly undemocratic. To the young men of the country looking for a career to choose, the attraction of the Indian Civil Service lay in the power and authority which the officers wielded as agents of the *Masters* rather than in the opportunity to work for the good of the people as the public's *servants*. It was of the utmost importance, therefore, that every probationer in the Indian Administrative Service should realise that he was entering upon a life of *service*—that he would be a servant of the people and not their master ; that, though he would have plenty of scope to assist and advise in the making of policy, all major decisions would be taken by the people's own representatives ; that he would have to implement these decisions with complete loyalty whatever his personal views may be. For a country like India, with a tradition of thousands years of authoritative paternal administration, the transition to Parliamentary Democracy has involved a revolutionary change in the physiology of the body politic. It calls for a radical adjustment of attitude on the part of its operative organs, *viz.* the higher administrative personnel. Special care is therefore taken to give the I.A.S. probationers an understanding of the essence of the Indian Constitution and of the role they are meant to play as officers of an All-India Service operating under that Constitution.

Stress is also laid in the basic training on the formation of the right mental attitude to questions of personal and public conduct. The probationers have to realise that as public servants, they must always maintain, and *show* that they are maintaining, absolute integrity and impartiality and they must voluntarily accept stricter standards of public and private conduct than those expected of an ordinary citizen.

As regards what may be called the "knowledge" aspect of training, the syllabus for the old I.C.S. probationer only covered (i) Indian History, (ii) Indian Criminal Law and Procedure, and (iii) the language of the Province to which he

was allotted. To the training syllabus of the I.A.S. probationers some very significant additions were made :

Besides learning the regional language of the State to which the probationer is allotted—as a deliberate policy, at least half the recruits are sent to serve in States other than their own—he is also taught Hindi, the National Language, if he is not already fully familiar with it.

Modern governments are so intimately concerned with the economic life of the people that a knowledge of the principles of economics has become a necessary tool in the equipment of every responsible administrator. It has been found that only about half of those who secure the highest positions in the competitive examination each year are already familiar with the subject. Economics has, therefore, been added to the syllabus for all recruits. Care is taken in the teaching of this subject to stress the practical application of economic principles with special reference to the conditions in India and the implementation of the Five Year Plans. Considerable benefit is therefore derived even by those who have taken university degrees in economics before recruitment.

An even more important addition was that represented by instruction in the principles of public administration. The system of 'learning by doing' followed in the past did undoubtedly produce a number of able administrators who nearly always did the right thing at the right moment in the right way, but they did not always realise this fact nor could have explained why. In the tough school of experience as much is learnt by successful trial as by disastrous error. Initial basic knowledge of the principles and techniques of public administration and the handling of men and matters should certainly increase the chances of success and minimise the risk of errors. The teaching of these principles and techniques is entrusted to senior officers who have themselves been "through the mill" and can draw upon personal knowledge and experience to illustrate the situations and problems likely to arise and the ways of meeting and solving them. At the same time the probationers also acquire a knowledge of the machinery of Government at the Centre and in the States and the organisation, functions and procedures of the departments and the operating agencies.

The course also includes lectures in the Administrative

History of India tracing the evolution of the present day institutions and administrative practices from those obtaining in ancient, mediaeval and pre-British days. This method is of special value in the study of village *Panchayats* and Co-operatives.

Separate series of lectures and seminars deal with detailed instruction in the functioning of 'District Administration'—a vitally important element in the administrative structure in India to which the I.C.S. recruit of the old days used to come as a complete stranger. In order to combine descriptive instruction with some degree of personal observation, the probationers under training are taken on guided visits to the headquarters-towns of neighbouring districts and sub-divisions, to rural police stations, and to the Community Project areas and National Extension Service centres.

In the basic training of generalist administrators there is naturally very little scope for teaching the *techniques* of handling tools and appliances. Nevertheless, the course includes, P.T., horse-riding, motor mechanics and weapon training. The recruits also get some practical experience of administrative problems and democratic action by having to run their own Mess and to make their own arrangements while on tours which, incidentally, also include visits to sister institutions like the Indian Defence Academy and the Police Training College, and a fortnight's attachment to units of the Army in conditions approximating to 'active service'.

A statement of the syllabus which is given to each recruit on reporting for training, is reproduced at the end of this article.

When the basic training, which lasts for about a year, is over the recruits undergo another examination conducted by or under the supervision of the Union Public Service Commission. There are written papers on (i) General Administrative Knowledge (mainly embracing Economics, General Administration and District Administration); and (ii) Indian Criminal Law and Procedure. There are written as well as oral tests in Hindi and the regional languages, and also qualifying tests in horse-riding, motor mechanics and rifle and revolver shooting. Above all, there is a final personality test by an interview board of the Union Public Service Commission to assess how far the recruit has really benefited from the basic training made available to him.

IV

The training camp for the I.C.S. probationers set up by the British Government during World War II was located in the Himalayan hill-station of Dehra Dun, already the home of the Indian Defence Academy, the Indian Forest Research Institute, the Doon School and other educational and training establishments. The I.A.S. Training School was, however, deliberately located at Delhi, close to the National Capital and the administrative hub of India. Despite suggestions to the contrary which are still received occasionally, there can be no doubt that this step has been fully justified by experience.

To be near the centre of all Government activity is in itself stimulating but it also has some very tangible advantages. At Delhi, the probationers can come into personal contact with the President, the Prime Minister and members of the cabinet, senior officials from the ministries and departments at the Centre and visiting ministers and officials from the States, members of the foreign diplomatic missions, and numerous important and interesting personalities from all over the world who usually break their journeys through India at Delhi. The opportunity to draw upon so rich a store-house of knowledge and experience is fully utilised by the probationers by organising formal lectures, informal talks and social gatherings. This is, in some ways, the best part of their basic training, and it could never be made available so easily or so liberally if the School is moved away from Delhi.

Even in the strictly curricular sphere, it is easier from Delhi to arrange visits of study to the Parliament, the Government offices, and the Law Courts. From Delhi it is also convenient to show the trainees the practical working of the District administrative systems of two types : the mainly 'functional' as in the Punjab and the mainly 'regional' as in Uttar Pradesh.

V

In conclusion, it should be emphasised again, that what has been described above relates only to the *basic training* of the new recruits to the Indian Administrative Service. Throughout his stay at the School it is made clear to every probationer that his real training will only begin when he starts learning the job by doing it under the guidance of the District

Officers to whose tutelage he is consigned. He knows too, that such *practical* training would last for *five to six* years during which he may expect to hold positions and discharge duties of progressively increasing variety and responsibility. Only then will the officer be considered ripe enough to be made a District Officer in the field or a Deputy Secretary or junior head of Department in the Secretariat—which, incidentally, are only the lowest of the key posts in the State and Central Government for the manning of which the Indian Administrative Service has been organised.

NOTES

Indian Administrative Service Training School, Delhi

A Brief Syllabus of Training

1. Basic knowledge of criminal law and procedure.
2. Economics
 - (i) General principles and their practical application to problems of public administration.
 - (ii) Economic history of India.
 - (iii) Special study of certain branches, *e.g.*, promotion and control of co-operative enterprises ;
Promotion of increased food production ;
Promotion of cottage industries ;
Operation of controls over production, distribution and exchange of certain types of commodities ;
State management of certain types of industrial enterprises.
 - (iv) Public Finance
 - (a) Essentials of public and private finance ; principles of taxation—incidence, cost of collection, repercussions on the general principles of State policy, moral values, etc.
 - (b) Management of currency and State banking.
 - (c) Budgeting for Central and State Governments.
 - (d) Organization for maintenance of accounts and audit—Continuous financial control over expenditure as against grants voted by the legislature.
 - (e) Ultimate control on public finance by the Legislature as representative of the people.
3. Administrative History of India

From the ancient Hindu period to the present day—Evolution of the relations between the ruler and the ruled—Central Government—Degree of direct control exercised by the Central Government in

various fields—Evolution of the organizations for management of defence, external affairs, internal security, law and order, revenue administration, administration of justice, etc.—Change of emphasis from law and order state to a welfare state.

4. General Administration

- (1) The essential features of Parliamentary democracy—The role played by the different elements : the Electorate, the Legislature, Political Executive, and the Permanent Civil Service.
- (2) The principal provisions of the Constitution of the Indian Republic.
- (3) The principles of General Administration, *viz.*,
 - (i) Supervision, direction and control,
 - (ii) Organization and methods,
 - (iii) Staffing and personnel management,
 - (iv) Problems of supply and material, and
 - (v) Provision of finance and financial control.
- (4) A more detailed study of the principles of organization, *e.g.*,
 - Distinction between policy and execution,
 - Lines and levels of authority,
 - Division into sub-units by territory or functions,
 - Centralization and decentralization,
 - Concentration and deconcentration,
 - Co-ordination at lower levels, and
 - Overall co-ordination.
- (5) A general survey of Departmental organization in
 - (a) the Central Government, and
 - (b) State Governments.
- (6) "Rules and standards of conduct" expected of I.A.S. Officers :
 - Relations with
 - (a) superior officers,
 - (b) fellow officers,
 - (c) subordinates, and
 - (d) members of the public.
- (7) Methods of acquiring, maintaining and improving technical efficiency as Administrative Officer :
 - (a) Study of local problems and conditions,
 - (b) Touring,
 - (c) Inspections, and
 - (d) Management of public funds.

5. District Administration

- (1) Instruction in District Administration covers in rather greater detail all aspects of the work of a District Officer as Collector (revenue), Magistrate (law and order), and as District Officer (general co-ordinator of the activities of all different departments of Government, and as Government's local representative). There is a detailed discussion of the duties and functions and position of the officials in the hierarchies under the head of the district in his different capacities.

In addition, instruction is given in such allied subjects as Police, Departmental organisation in the District, Court work, Touring, Administrative Method, and Local Self-Government.

Discussions are also held on various village problems including agriculture, subsidiary industries, land-fragmentation, litigation, sanitation, illiteracy, poultry farming, maternity, health, landless labour, temperance, *begar*, untouchability, and co-operation.

Lectures are also arranged on subjects like Elections, Census, Forests, Co-operatives, etc.

- (2) In addition to the above, as great a variety as possible of *extra-curricular* lectures are given by officers belonging to various Ministries of the Government of India, *e.g.*, Food & Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Defence Services etc., on the principal objectives and activities falling within their respective spheres.
- (3) Special study of Community Projects and the Five Year Plan.
6. A basic knowledge of Hindi, and of the various State languages, where necessary, is given.
7. Arrangements have also been made with the assistance of Delhi Police to teach probationers the art of horse-riding, and to give them training in the handling of the usual fire-arms.
8. Instruction is also provided in the principles of Motor Mechanics.
9. The syllabus also includes the following :—
 - (a) Study visits to villages, Police Stations, Sub-Divisional Headquarters, and District Headquarters.
 - (b) Study visits to the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi; All India Radio; Parliament (while in session); Technical Training Centres established by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Rehabilitation; Employment Exchanges; the Indian Forest Research Institute, National Defence Academy, Survey of India, etc., at Dehra Dun; Police Training College, Mt. Abu.
 - (c) Probationers are sent on attachment to Army units in active service conditions for 15 days with a view to giving them a first-hand knowledge of the organization of the Army, methods of training, duties of personnel at various levels of command, etc., as well as to acquire some facility in handling of fire-arms.

People's Co-operation in the Kosi Project

Kanwar Sain

THE recent experiment in harnessing people's co-operation for taming the Kosi river brings into bold relief the importance of public co-operation in the execution of all our development plans. The main purpose behind the introduction of this new method was to demonstrate how such large scale works can be undertaken successfully by organised human labour without wholesale dependence on machinery and how the spirit of self-help and common endeavour can overcome the handicaps of local apathy and party factions.

The Kosi is the Indian 'river of sorrow' which has in the past repeatedly changed its course, causing untold damage to the neighbouring areas of East Nepal and North Bihar. The urgency of adopting flood control measures in this region attracted the attention of Government as early as 1937. But detailed investigations were needed before concrete proposals could emerge. The present Kosi Control Scheme was finalised only in November 1953 by the Central Water and Power Commission. Besides the construction of a barrage, canals and diversion works, the project involves the erection of 147 miles of earthen embankments to confine the river to a defined course and thus prevent the inundation of the surrounding areas. A part of these embankments is being constructed under the 'Public Co-operation Programme'.

The idea of mobilising people's co-operation for large projects is one of the basic principles which underlie the First Five Year Plan. It was felt that the river valley projects provided a unique opportunity to associate the public actively with State ventures and to give them a hand in working out their own safety and material advancement. The visit of the engineers of the Central Water and Power Commission to China and their report about the performance of the Chinese people in the construction of embankments gave a further stimulus to the idea of enlisting public co-operation in the execution of river valley projects.

When the programme for the Kosi Project was being considered, the Minister for Planning and Irrigation and Power

discussed with the Members of Parliament the ways and means of securing the people's support. Subsequently at the meeting of the Co-ordination Board of Ministers held in September, 1954, it was decided that the States concerned, viz., Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh should explore the possibilities of enlisting public co-operation in flood control measures. The idea found support in each of the States and their people offered to extend the necessary co-operation in respect of many projects.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj—a voluntary organization for national service—was entrusted with the task of organizing public co-operation for the Kosi Project. The Samaj undertook the responsibility of completing 16½ miles of earthen embankments (8 miles on the Western side and 8½ miles on the Eastern side of the river). It has been able to enlist the co-operation of the people in the following three directions :

- (1) Voluntary surrender of land by the local people for the construction of protective embankments and temporary labour camps ;
- (2) *Shramdan* (i.e. gift of labour) ; and
- (3) Paid labour through the agency of *Gram Panchayats* (village councils) and labour co-operatives.

Inordinate delays in land acquisition have often held up the execution of projects in the past. The Bharat Sevak Samaj organized a special campaign among the people in the Kosi area to secure voluntary surrender and achieved commendable results. Hundreds of acres of land were placed at the disposal of the project authorities. The gift of land was made not only by those who stood to benefit but also by those who had to leave for ever their own cherished lands for the construction of the embankments to save the lands of their fellow citizens. As a result of people's generous co-operation the formal lengthy procedure for land acquisition was avoided and the work started much earlier than scheduled date.

The *Shramdanees*, i.e. voluntary unpaid workers, have been chiefly drawn upon from middle class peasants, students and social workers. The Secondary Schools and colleges have each sent 90 and more students at a time. The Basic Schools also have evinced great interest, and the students of some of them are continuously camping at the site of works. Boys of the Auxiliary Cadet Corps numbering about 11,000 have

shown remarkable enthusiasm in constructing some of the Eastern banks. The Bihar University has organized its own camp of *Shramdanees*—300 students on the Western embankment. The latest addition is the labour donation from the teachers and students of a Sanskrit school in Darbhanga.

At no time was it visualized that *Shramdan* would meet all the requirements for labour. But people who had never before handled a spade are today working shoulder to shoulder with the rank and file of workers with great zeal and enthusiasm ; and it is hoped that *Shramdan* will create and spread this enthusiasm over a wider area.

The main contribution of the Bharat Sevak Samaj has been in the direction of harnessing labour through *Gram Panchayats* and Labour Co-operatives. *Gram Panchayats* have been organized under the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act. Wherever this has not been found possible, either Labour Co-operatives or unofficial *Gram Panchayats* have been set up.

Under the Public Co-operation Programme, a *Gram Panchayat* or Labour Co-operative is required to enroll at least 200 labourers and the chief of the *Gram Panchayat* or the Labour Co-operative functions in the capacity of a Unit Leader. Each Unit Leader undertakes to construct at least a thousand feet reach of the embankment and he is expected to complete it with 200 labourers within 120 days. He signs a pledge with the Bharat Sevak Samaj that he would not withdraw from the work until he fully completes his allotted task, strictly according to the required specifications of work and the scheduled time-table. The Unit Leader also enters into regular contract with project authorities on behalf of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. He is a contractor for all practical purposes except that he makes no personal profit for the work he does. The Unit Leader further assures that he would disburse the money received from the project authorities, in accordance with the instructions of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Ninety per cent. of the total earnings go to the individual worker and 7½ per cent. to the *Gram Panchayats* or the Labour Co-operatives. To the latter is added an equivalent sum received from Government under the Local Development Works Programme of the First Five Year Plan and this total of 15 per cent. is earmarked for schemes of community development. Two and a half per cent. of earnings which are left over are paid to Unit Leaders for meeting the establish-

ment and supervision costs. Almost the entire earnings are thus spent for the benefit of workers. The individual contractors are eliminated and their personal profit is diverted into community savings. The Bharat Sevak Samaj and the project authorities do not claim any share in the earnings.

Work on the Eastern embankment has been divided into three and on the Western into four 'points'. Each of these points has been put in the charge of a responsible nominee of the Bharat Sevak Samaj who is assisted by a small committee of Unit Leaders. A Point-Incharge is ordinarily responsible for two to three miles of work and a Unit Leader for a thousand feet reach of the embankment. To co-ordinate the activities of all the Points-Incharge, there is one Embankment-Incharge on both the sides and it is his job to see that uniformity in progress of work and rates of payment, etc. is maintained everywhere. The Embankments-Incharge in particular and Points-Incharge in general receive suggestions and instructions from the Convener of the Kosi Section of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, who, in turn, keeps a regular contact with the Convener of the Bihar State Bharat Sevak Samaj.

The progress of work on the Western embankment is possibly ahead of schedule and its quality has also been found superior to that of the work done by usual run of Public Works contractors. The local people who have been mobilised to work on the project are directly interested in seeing that the work is completed in time and the embankment is strong enough to stand the flood. The Unit Leaders too are always vigilant to ensure that the quality of work does not deteriorate. This spirit is seldom found under the contract system.

On the Eastern embankment, because of late start and organizational difficulties, the pace of work was not very rapid at first ; but it has been steadily improving.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj has accepted the work at relatively lower rates and this has forced contractors to reduce their quotations also. The labourers working under the scheme are paid on piece-rate basis and the payment is made every week by the Unit Leader to the labourers on proper receipt in the presence of the Point-Incharge. The Unit Leader maintains records of daily attendance and working hours.

At the Kosi Project human hands have successfully overcome the difficulties caused by the lack of machinery or by the nature of the terrain where machinery could not be used. In the construction of a part of embankments no use has been made of bull-dozers, tractors, and the like.

Being largely a new concept, public co-operation had to struggle against many obstacles in the earlier stages. Government officers accustomed to departmental work, or work through contractors, were not sanguine about the success of the scheme. The new method, requiring as it did, close co-operation and mutual faith at all levels between the officials and the public, presented new problems in human relations. The programme of work had to be settled. The method of organizing public participation had to be worked out. Various aspects such as arrangements for payment of wages, provision of housing facilities and amenities at work sites, required careful planning. At the outset, a large number of men volunteered to work on the project. But the engineers were not yet ready to engage them as they had not sufficient overseeing staff. Many workers had to go back disappointed. Due to the concentration of labour and delayed payments the prices of food stuffs went up temporarily and an artificial shortage was created. All these difficulties have since been largely solved.

The experience gathered in the first experiment should prove of great benefit for future projects. Before a project is started, accommodation and other amenities like water supply should be arranged for. Sufficient subordinate staff should be placed in position to facilitate the measurement of work and prompt payment of wages. Work should be marked out on the ground in advance and necessary implements like baskets made readily available so that men, as they come, can commence the work.

A large number of amenities for the labour force have been provided. The project authorities supply free transport between the railway station and the work site. They also provide tools, implements, and medical aid. Thatched sheds have been erected at many places along the banks to provide accommodation for labour. For supplying sufficient drinking water, tube wells have been constructed both in workers' colonies and alongside the banks. For general entertainment, radio sets have been provided and cinema shows are often

arranged. Welfare officers have been appointed to look after the health and welfare of the labourers. Community halls have been built in each of the colonies, where reading material and some games are made available. In the camps of Auxiliary Cadet Corps volunteers, entertainment programmes are organized on a more systematic basis. In the *Shramdan* sector, music is played at the work site for lightening the monotony of work.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj occupies the position of a contractor. But the fact that popular leaders are behind the organization, is responsible for a new type of relationship between the Samaj and the Kosi Administration. In the early part of the project, the Kosi authorities found that complaints were frequently made by the Samaj directly to the highest level. The Samaj, on the other hand, felt that payments were not made promptly and that there was considerable red-tape in the Government organization. The situation called for an adjustment between the two parties and the experience of the last three months has paved the way for smooth working.

The example at Kosi has found immediate response in other places. Thus at Burhi Gandak in North Bihar about 75 per cent. of earth work on 100 miles embankment has been started through *Mukhias* and *Gram Panchayats* of the villages lying near the banks. In Assam also, public co-operation is in evidence in several places, e.g., on embankments in Goalpara, and protection works at Dibrugarh, etc.

In Uttar Pradesh about ten thousand persons are working on raising villages above the normal flood levels. At Dhumrighat in the district of Etah, about six thousand persons offered voluntary labour and constructed a river embankment and an approach road. In Tungabhadra area also people have shown readiness to come forward with voluntary labour.

The idea of public co-operation has caught the imagination of the people. They are coming forward with *Shramdan* and are organizing village co-operatives to undertake the construction of embankments, the excavation of canals and tributaries, etc. This has great significance. All communities and sections of the public are supporting the movement irrespective of party affiliations.

The great start made in public co-operation at the Kosi Project has yielded useful results. It has enthused the local people and inspired them to work together for the realization of common purposes. It has also provided employment to thousands of men. Here is a scheme in which men and not machines dominate the scene, which has been carried out successfully by unskilled labour with the aid of voluntary agencies.

In the mass enthusiasm and support for the Kosi Project, we can see the seeds of a great future, for it is only the spirit of self-help that can make the nation virile and progressive and enable it to build a co-operative commonwealth.

—:0:—

“On the part of the administration, efficiency and integrity are of course of the highest importance ; equally, the relations between officials at different levels and the general public have an immense bearing on the response of the public. It is an essential rule in the code of a public servant, whatever his rank, to extend to every citizen courtesy and consideration and to inspire in him the confidence that so far as the law and the administration are concerned, all citizens have equal rights and equal claims. Every unit in the administration has to discharge its duties in the understanding that the major justification of its existence is the service it renders to the community and the confidence which it evokes, and that the public has a contribution to make in the fulfilment of any programme, which is no less vital than that of the administration. The approach towards the public must, therefore, always be based on an attitude of close co-operation and a desire to take the utmost advantage of the people and provide for voluntary community action as large a field as may be possible.”

—From the First Five
Year Plan

Administrative Relations in Planning

Tarlok Singh

PLANNING belongs to that small group of social concepts which are difficult to define and yet become a medium of common thinking and expression, whose impact on institutions and human relations has a pervasive quality, although their meaning depends altogether on the situation and the objectives they are intended to serve. Reduced to essentials, to plan is to determine the use of resources available to a community. Planning, thus, is an aspect of decision-making. It is concerned with resources in the widest sense—material, manpower and capital resources, no less than resources of a non-material character such as the values, ideals and urges of a community and of its individual members. Since resources can only be used and developed over time, planning involves always an attempt to balance short-term and long-term aims. Determining what the resources are and how they can and should be augmented and employed and judging the economic and social situation for action of different kinds are processes which fall within the scope of planning.

Planning would be an infructuous exercise unless important decisions flowed from it. The agencies and methods employed in planning are closely allied to those used in preparing for, taking and implementing decision. In other words, planning is an aspect of government. Its range is nearly as large as that of governmental activity, its association with the people as great as the extent to which the people have a share in the activities of government at different levels. All phases of governmental activity are influenced by planning, though economic and social development is, naturally, its special field.

Administrative relations involved in the process of planning do not stand by themselves. They are part of a wider context, influencing and in turn being influenced by other prevailing relationships. Moreover, the context itself changes from time to time ; with it there may be changes in

This article is based on a talk given at the Delhi School of Economics on March 30, 1955.

administrative, economic and political relations large enough to require fresh assessment at frequent intervals. The main determining factors at any time or in any situation are :

- (1) the major aims and objectives which are sought to be achieved,
- (2) the political assumptions,
- (3) the administrative assumptions, and
- (4) the nature of the planning machinery.

These various factors inter-act all the time and it may not be easy on some occasions to separate individual elements in them as cause or effect. Over and above them, there is the human factor, the personality and attitudes of individuals, specially those in key positions, on which, in the final analysis, the smooth functioning of any set of institutions largely turns. The action and inter-action of these factors are briefly analysed in the sections which follow.

II

The principal objectives in planning at any given moment are determined mainly by two conditions :

- (1) the needs, short-term and long-term, of the economic situation as judged at the time ; and
- (2) the relative pressure of defence needs and of welfare.

In turn, the objectives, if they are clear and imperative enough, suggest the means to be adopted. How far they can be attained will depend on the behaviour of the other assumptions in planning, and on whether the initial judgment from which planning starts proves correct or adequate. Historically, there are important examples of considerable economic development without deliberate planning. Planning, however, is the strategy of forcing the pace of development and for those who have a long distance to cover there is no choice. Much, therefore, turns on how accurately the economic situation is assessed by those responsible for planning and on the manner in which their judgment is modified on grounds of national security.

In Western Europe after the second world war, the restoration of economies which had sustained severe damage and the modernisation of equipment were a common aim in

planning. The countries concerned functioned within a system of international trade and drew largely on aid from across the Atlantic. Their aims were of a limited character ; they were not primarily engaged in building up planned economic systems. Therefore they only employed some of the tools of planning to achieve their post-war reconstruction. Countries in Eastern Europe, whose problems were in many ways more complex, had to depend for their rehabilitation mainly on their own internal resources. They therefore developed closely planned economies with a different system of ideas and attempted a more fundamental kind of economic and social transformation. Economic planning was for them, a major instrument for wider political aims—national strength based on heavy industries and a new social structure. Planning in the Soviet Union has from the beginning been determined by these two objectives, the desire to provide a larger flow of goods and services, and at lower prices, being invariably subordinated to them. In India, at the time of the First Five-Year Plan the basic problems were those of mass poverty, but the immediate need to repair shortages of food and raw materials in a situation which presented dangers of increasing inflation influenced the character of the Plan. As the economic situation improved, the base of the Plan was steadily broadened and new ideas and approaches came to be embodied in it. For the Second Five-Year Plan, the principal targets are set in terms of fuller employment, so that this objective will largely govern the composition of the plan and the technological relations in the sectors concerned with production.

The economic assessment is invariably subordinate to the demands of national security as judged by those who are in control of the apparatus of the State. If defence is given the first place—there may sometimes be no option but to do so—the emphasis in planning will be on :

- (1) planning to achieve the maximum results during relatively short periods,
- (2) the highest possible rate of capital formation involving reduction of consumption through high prices, reduced supplies, and measures for withdrawing as much of the purchasing power of the community as may be feasible, and
- (3) maximum attainable control over economic operations in different fields and at different levels,

including internal trade and distribution and measures to secure surplus food through obligatory deliveries, etc.

It is possible to conceive of this approach in planning for its own sake, even if defence considerations are of a subordinate character. There is no instance of this, however, in actual practice and on the whole it seems correct to associate the willing acceptance of the rigours involved with objectives more compelling than a mere desire to build up a fully socialistic structure.

On the other hand, if the assumption is that conditions of peace will prevail and that there is no urgent threat to national security, the characteristics of planning are likely to be—

- (1) defining short-term goals in terms of more long-term aims for increasing national income and national well-being and acceptance of a somewhat more gradual approach ;
- (2) balancing consumption and investment so as to avoid excessive strain on the economy and hardship to the poorer sections of the community;
- (3) insistence on certain human values and on changes in institutions taking place in large part *pari passu* with changes in the attitudes and outlook of men, with equal emphasis given to the moulding of the human material and to the correction of economic and social disparities and re-organisation of institutions ;
- (4) balanced development in different sectors with emphasis on those activities which will contribute to the welfare of the largest numbers ;
- (5) expansion of the public sector and of the co-operative sector, and in the purely private sector a certain amount of general regulation by the State without detailed control ; and
- (6) maintenance of the framework of a market economy.

Planning with defence requirements as the focal point involves widespread conscription of human and material resources ; it carries the techniques of management commonly employed in war into the realm of economic development.

Necessarily, such planning is not possible without considerable concentration of authority. The area of choice or argument for any organisation or individual is limited ; in every situation there is some one who has the last word. Planning with the welfare of the largest number and continuing peace as the basic assumptions also calls for certain common ideas and a degree of discipline in fulfilling them. There is, however, a wider distribution of authority and conclusions emerge as a rule from the process of consultation and agreement. It is obvious that administrative and other relations have a share in determining the kind of planning that may be practicable, but to a large extent they are a product of the approach adopted in planning.

All planning places a certain amount of power in the hands of those with whom decisions lie and influence in the hands of those whose knowledge or assessment shapes the decisions. Whichever pattern of planning comes to be adopted in the circumstances of a country and within its assumptions, there is need for balance, restraint, flexibility and delegation of authority if large mistakes in planning are to be avoided. Many of the failures in planning occur when those responsible for planning and for making decisions do not give sufficient weight to these elements from which is woven the texture of human relations in planning. The process of planning is such as to make for easy transition from intelligent and well-informed management of the economic machine to wasteful exercise of authority and direction. For its own sake, therefore, planning, like government, requires a number of internal checks and balances. An instrument of such far-reaching value for social and economic progress has to be watched jealously lest through its own excesses it injures with one hand what it creates with the other.

III

The political assumptions on which planning is based are closely allied to the basic conditions which determine its objectives. The elements to be considered are :

- (1) the size of a country,
- (2) whether the political structure is based on the existence or possibility of one or of more than one political party,

- (3) in the case of a large country, the pattern of constitutional relations between the Central Government and the governments of the States, and
- (4) the resources available to the Centre and the States.

The size and population of India with her vast problems, the existence of a federal system in which the States are important units in their own right with resources accounting for half the national budget and adherence to the democratic method in political organisation are factors which give to India's planning a unique historical and practical interest.

The adoption of the Indian Constitution in January, 1950 was followed within a few weeks by the setting up of the Planning Commission. The preamble to the Government Resolution announcing the terms of reference of the Planning Commission drew inspiration from the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution, so that these principles became the frame of reference for national planning :

“The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life, and shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things—

- (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good ; and
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

Having regard to these rights and in furtherance of these principles as well as of the declared objective of the Government to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the

resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community.....”

For sometime the ideas quoted above were commonly described as the principles of a welfare state. Now, through further elaboration and interpretation, they are described as the basic objectives of a welfare state and the socialistic pattern of society. This widening of the concept has a moral. It illustrates how democratic growth makes for continuity, how within the framework of democratic values, major advances in policy may take place through the process of political interpretation and adjustment to new economic situations, how the very words one uses change and grow in meaning. The influence of such a method of development on administrative and human relations in the process of planning can be highly significant.

In a large country there are very definite limits to central planning. These limits are sharper where the Constitution vests vital powers and functions in the States, supported by considerable independence in the manner in which the resources given to them may be developed and utilised. National Planning, while proceeding to a large extent through consultation, yet widens the role of the Central Government and tends to reduce the distinction between Central and State responsibilities. This occurs for a number of reasons, notably the following :

- (1) Planning determines, both for the Centre and the States, the directions in which the available resources may be used both over short and long periods.
- (2) In joining with all the States to formulate a national plan, the Centre underwrites its implementation in a large measure. In other words, on the one hand, it has a concern and must develop an apparatus for seeing that States discharge their part of the obligations ; on the other hand, it undertakes to use its own resources and its powers of management of currency and credit in the service of the whole plan including the State's obligations.
- (3) Important new impulses and drives emanate from the Centre and develop into nation-wide program-

mes. In some cases part of the direction and finance may come from the Centre, but the execution may be wholly with the States, for instance, the Grow More Food campaign, the national malaria control programme, the welfare of backward classes, or the conversion of primary schools to the basic and of secondary schools to the multi-purpose pattern. The power of the purse is the main instrument in such cases.

Distinct from them in quality are the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. These do call for finance and direction from the Centre, but their real meaning lies in the new approach they embody towards community responsibility and welfare and the conception that every agency in the administration should work *with* and not merely *for* the people. Community Projects and the National Extension Service began with emphasis on agriculture and rural development as these were the first needs. Their scope and range of interests will steadily extend to other fields and in the long run it is as a method of development inherent in and growing out of the democratic approach which encompasses every vital need of local communities, that they will be best integrated into the scheme of national planning. The approach which they imply, provided only that excessive centralisation is vigilantly guarded against, should survive long after particular forms of assistance which they take from the national or the state capital to the village home have ceased.

- (4) Large-scale industrial development places major responsibility on the Central Government both for the public sector and for the regulation of the private sector.

It would be wise to find ways of associating the States as far as possible in the development of new industries, for, as economic development proceeds, industry will dominate the national scene. The ultimate problems which the growth of industry is intended to solve--diversification of

employment, work for all and raising of standards of living through the maximum development of the local resources of each region—are of deep concern to the States. It would be unfortunate if in the system of planning that comes to be evolved the plans of the States are without a significant industrial content of their own and a degree of participation in the growth of the national public sector.

Thus, in Indian conditions, as formal lines of demarcation between the Centre and the States inevitably weaken through national planning, new ways need to be devised to enable the States to work as partners, responsible and sufficiently self-determining, yet subserving the common goals and conforming broadly to the national pattern of economic and social development. As the initial political assumptions of planning become less important, new assumptions have to be built in their place to effect the transition from formal distribution of powers and responsibilities to fruitful partnership in action.

IV

The administrative assumptions of planning flow in large part from the political assumptions. In so far as they are distinct they are specially related to questions of personnel. The first aspect to consider is the extent to which administrative and technical personnel concerned with planning are drawn from the same sources as those which provide the personnel for execution. At the level of the region or the State, planning is not yet specialised enough for any differentiation to have taken place between these two categories of personnel. At the national level, although planning is by no means such a specialised field, the personnel drawn into planning come from a number of different sources. On the whole, however, there has so far been a sufficient degree of common experience and tradition between the principal officials concerned with planning and with execution. This has made for a co-operative approach. In the future, it is to be expected that greater specialisation will develop in planning. It is in the interest of sound planning and fulfilment of plans that are formulated that the planning organisation should not attempt to become altogether self-contained and all-knowing and there should continue to be a steady exchange of personnel and ideas

between it and the Ministries and the States and institutions and agencies outside the government. Ideas and attitudes which are reared through similar work and experience are not by themselves sufficient and need to be supplemented ; they do, however, lead to easier human relations. Both aspects have to be borne in mind in organising the administration for a planned economy. Good human relations are as important for planning as they are for implementation and for working with and through the people.

In the first phase of India's planning—this will be true largely also of the second phase—both at the Centre and as between the Centre and the States, a considerable proportion of the administrative and technical personnel concerned with planning belonged to the former all-India services. It would help national planning if in the future there were all-India or joint service cadres in the principal fields of technical development. Such service cadres are a means for carrying a wider stock of talent to States some of which may otherwise accept the second or the third best, that is, in effect, a lower rate of development. These cadres will also prevent isolation between the thinking and experience of those who serve at the Centre and those who serve in the States. This is of the highest importance for national progress on democratic lines. Equally, they can help avoid differences in outlook between those who plan and those who execute, for such differences reduce greatly the contribution which planning can make to national well-being.

As a result of the growth of planning in India the Centre is assuming increasing responsibilities in providing facilities for training and research. Five years ago, the Centre's interest was confined to the higher levels of scientific and technical education. Now, it views the problems of personnel more comprehensively. For the first time perhaps the role of trained personnel in the execution of major programmes was fully recognised in the field of community development. While several valuable steps have been taken there are many directions in which rapid progress will become possible only when resources and techniques are carried to the people by men and women who have first acquired the skills needed. As a result of the experience gained in planning during the past two or three years, the Centre and the States now approach training programmes with equal concern and as partners in

a common task. This augurs well for the success of future plans.

V

Thus, in terms both of political and administrative assumptions, in the developments that have taken place so far, planning has been pre-eminently a method for achieving co-operation and evolving a body of common aims to be pursued on a national scale. This is one of the most important tests of the quality of planning and one on which much else turns. In this respect, during the past five years the role of the Planning Commission as the national planning body has been clearly helpful and influential. In its work the Planning Commission was favoured by several circumstances, such as the position of the Prime Minister, who is Chairman of the Commission, the support given to the Commission's work on the political plane, the eminence and the place in public life of its individual Members, the close links between the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry at the Centre, the co-operation freely given and received at all levels both at the Centre and in the States, specially on the part of the Chief Ministers, the objectivity and judgment which the Planning Commission has shown in pressing its own ideas and in entertaining those of others and, finally, the success which has attended much of the effort in the First Five-Year Plan. The setting up of the National Development Council in which all the States are represented through their Chief Ministers and of a Standing Committee of that Council to consider matters of common interest from a national point of view are important new developments whose significance may well grow in the future.

If, however, we consider the character of the machinery of planning over a longer span of time, there are a number of questions bearing on administrative relations in planning which deserve to be considered :

(1) *Should the national planning organisation be an advisory or an executive body ?*

The Planning Commission has stood out generally for the principle that it will not accept responsibility for implementation of the plan. In practice, however, it has had to assume duties wider than those of mere planning. For instance, it continues to be the Central Committee guiding the work of the Community Projects Administration. It has a

range of other duties which have grown up in recent years, watching the implementation of plans specially in the States through its team of Programme Administration Advisers, assisting and guiding economic and social research programmes in the universities through the Research Programmes Committee, considering land reform programmes all over the country through a Central committee for land reforms, and from time to time pursuing various policy and other questions independently with the Central Ministries and the States. For the strength of personnel at its command, the functions of the Planning Commission have become more extensive than could be foreseen five years ago.

Public opinion in India expects much from the Planning Commission, regarding it as a group engaged in the search for disinterested solutions, reaching into the depths of intricate social and economic problems, keeping abreast in its appreciation of the needs and hopes of the people, moulding public thinking on the basic problems of planning, stimulating right action within and outside the government, and at all times watching for what is true and lasting in the interest of the community as a whole. This is no small task to be entrusted to any body of men and, let it be added, one to which there is no parallel elsewhere.

(2) *What is the level at which, within the Government, members of the planning organisation are expected to function?*

In several countries with planned economies, planning bodies have chairmen who have a high place in the Council of Ministers, but their remaining members are only high-level executives or experts. There is, however, no country other than India in which the Prime Minister is himself the chairman of the planning body and where its members not only function at the level of ministers but also include in their ranks ministers with key responsibilities in the national government. The latter development has come from historical circumstance rather than deliberate purpose, for, when the Planning Commission was set up in 1950, the Government declared :

“The need for comprehensive planning based on careful appraisal of resources and on an objective analysis of all the relevant economic factors has become imperative. These purposes can best be

achieved through an organisation free from the burden of the day-to-day administration, but in constant touch with the Government at the highest policy level."

For the planning body to have the requisite amount of independence in judgment and time for thought, it is essential that the original intention cited above should be fulfilled to the extent of a sufficient number of members being available who do not carry departmental and political responsibilities and who, by devoting their whole attention to planning, help to develop and maintain under all circumstances a balanced and integrated approach towards major national problems. If some of the factors which have so far specially favoured the fortunes of planning in India are viewed in this perspective, it is apparent that in the last analysis the authority of the planning body in a democratic system derives mainly from the comprehensive character of its social approach, the quality of the experience and judgment expressed in its work, the sources of knowledge and information which it commands, and its ability to adapt its thinking to the changing needs of the economic and social structure, and, what is not less important, to changes that take place at an increasingly rapid pace in the minds of ordinary citizens. One aspect needs specially to be stressed. The national planning body should be in a position to draw upon sources of information, statistical and technical, which place it in a position to consider important issues from a wider stand-point and with greater speed than those concerned with execution in particular sectors or in particular areas.

(3) *What is the character of planning organisations in the States ?*

In India, partly for lack of personnel planning at the State level has the aspect largely of inter-departmental co-ordination. This is not now adequate because in the next phase in national planning two new features have to be reckoned with : In the first place, State plans will be based to a substantial extent on local plans, that is, the plans of villages, towns and districts—programmes which bear closely on the work and welfare of the people and need for their fulfilment a large and expanding social and institutional base through village *panchayats*, local bodies and the co-operative movement. Within a State, therefore, the body co-ordinating plans has to be able

to function above the level and outlook of administrative departments. Secondly, the employment goals of the national plan require that the plans of States should be similarly motivated. Considerable technical study is therefore needed to ensure that the plans of all regions are sufficiently integrated within themselves and with the overall national plan.

(4) *What kind of connection exists between planning in the public sector and planning in the private sector ?*

This is one of the weak points revealed by the experience of the First Five-Year Plan. The method of Development Councils for individual industries, composed of persons representing the interest of industry, labour, technicians etc., discharging a continuing public responsibility in the planning and development of each industry and in close touch with programmes of individual units, has not taken the shape the Plan contemplated. An important problem remains for the future. Perhaps so far the government's role in relation to the private sector is seen mainly as being one of regulation and to some extent of assistance. The Plan envisaged a private sector functioning in harmony with the rest of national planning, based on different labour-management relations from those now existing, each industry providing largely its own leadership, technical personnel and machinery for planning and also the impulse to development from the point of view of the essential interests of the community as a whole. In the coming years these will be some of the conditions of stability and acceptance for the private sector in industry. Steps to establish the necessary institutions and methods for planning in the private sector have an importance which has not yet been fully recognised.

(5) *What is the nature of the links which connect the work of the planning body with the political organisation or organisations which provide the governments at the Centre and in the States ?*

A planning organisation is not and, in a democratic system, should never be a political body. Existence of political confidence is, however, a material condition of success in planning. Therefore, for planning under democratic conditions to have sufficient integrity and continuity and to provide a basis for co-operation over a wide field, the work of the planning organisation should be carefully regarded as falling

somewhat beyond the strictly political field, even as the national planning body must function somewhat apart from the normal structure of government.

VI

In this article an attempt has been made to touch briefly upon some salient aspects of planning so as to explain the relationships, specially in administration, which planning may throw up. The analysis is based upon the experience of India and a few other countries. To obtain a fuller picture it would be necessary to elaborate in detail upon the whole structure of relationship in several fields of economic and social development under varying degrees of planning. In actual life, the various relationships are so intertwined that wherever we may begin we are led by small steps to an enquiry into the ends of planning and the means to be employed in attaining them. Planning is perhaps best viewed as a body of techniques of social management, still imperfectly developed, which can be used, under given conditions, to accelerate the rate of economic progress. In applying these techniques it is well to remember that they are but the instruments and that the central problems of planning concern the aims we set for ourselves and the scheme of political, economic and human relations generally which we seek to build.



“While engaged in work, they shall be daily examined ; for men are naturally fickle-minded, and, like horses at work, exhibit constant change in their temper. Hence the agency and tools which they make use of, the place and time of the work they are engaged in, as well as the precise form of the work, the outlay, and the results shall always be ascertained.”

—From Kautilya's *Arthashastra*
(321—296 B. C.)

Provident Fund For Labour in Select Industries

S. Neelakantam

The system of having a provident fund to serve as a provision for the future for an employee or his dependents in case of discharge, retirement or death, has long been in existence in India but it was confined generally to persons in the employ of Government and some advanced private concerns. The extension of the system to the larger body of industrial labour is only a recent development.

The idea of extending provident fund facilities to industrial workers received serious attention for the first time at the third conference of Labour Ministers, held in 1942. It was then felt that provident funds should be instituted on a voluntary rather than a compulsory basis. To give effect to this recommendation, the Central Government framed model rules in 1945 and circulated them to employers for adoption. Some progressive employers gave a lead and established voluntary provident funds, but the general response was disappointing.

The Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, held at New Delhi in October 1947, recommended that in the context of the conditions in India, a contributory provident fund scheme was preferable to a scheme of pension or gratuity. In a gratuity scheme the amount paid to a worker or his dependents would be small as the worker would not himself be making any contribution to the scheme. Taking into account the prevailing difficulties, financial and administrative, the most appropriate course would be to institute compulsory provident funds to which both workers and employers are made to contribute. Apart from other advantages, such a scheme would inculcate a spirit of thrift among workers and also help to stabilise the labour force.

The 9th session of the Indian Labour Conference, which met in April, 1948, was of the view that the introduction of a

statutory provident fund scheme for industrial workers might be undertaken. The proposal took a definite and concrete shape in December, 1948, when a provident fund scheme, limited in scope to the Coal Mines, was launched. The success of this scheme led to a demand for its extension to other industries. In 1949 when a non-official Bill for the setting up of provident funds for other industrial workers was introduced in the Central Legislature, the Labour Minister gave an undertaking that a comprehensive official Bill on the subject would be placed before the House. Accordingly, the subject was discussed in detail at the meetings of the Standing Labour Committee in November, 1950, and the Labour Ministers' Conference in January, 1951. As a result of these discussions, the Employees' Provident Funds Ordinance was promulgated on the 15th November, 1951 and it was replaced in March, 1952 by an Act of Parliament. The Employees' Provident Funds Scheme 1952, framed under the Act, was brought into effect by stages and was enforced in full by the 1st of November, 1952.

The Employees' Provident Funds Act and the Scheme at present cover all factories that employ 50 or more persons and are engaged in the manufacture of cement, cigarettes, electrical, mechanical or general engineering products, iron and steel, paper and textiles. They do not apply to factories owned by Government or a local authority and those which are less than three years old. The rate of contribution by an employee under the Scheme is one anna per rupee (*i.e.* $6\frac{1}{4}\%$) of basic wages and dearness allowance, and an equal amount is required to be contributed by the employer. The Scheme has been in force for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. It has benefited 15,42,000 persons, employed in 1,930 factories. The total provident fund contributions collected so far amount to about Rs. 40,00,00,000, the average monthly increase being Rs. 1,50,00,000. Approximately, Rs. 3,00,00,000 have been paid out to the members in settlement of their claims. For the first two years interest at the rate of 3% was credited to the members' provident fund accumulations. The interest for the year 1955-56 has been fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$.

The Employees' Provident Funds Scheme is administered by a Board of Trustees consisting of 21 representatives of employers, employees, the Central Government and State Governments. The Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Labour is the Chairman of the Board and the

Central Provident Fund Commissioner its Chief Executive Officer. The Commissioner also holds the charge of the Central Office. There are 20 Regional Offices in different States, each under the charge of a Regional Commissioner. The table below gives the present strength of officer personnel of Central and Regional Offices :—

I. *Central Office :*

(i) Deputy Provident Fund Commissioner : One

(ii) Assistant Provident Fund Commissioners : Three

II. *Regional Offices :*

S.No.	Name of Region	Officer Staff *		No. of factories	Number of employees covered
		Accounts Officer	Provident Fund Inspector		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	Ajmer .. ..	..	1	6	6,016
2.	Bhopal .. ..	..	1	2	2,650
3.	Bihar	1	1	45	78,793
4.	Bombay	2	8	625	5,78,632
5.	Delhi	1	1	45	18,936
6.	Hyderabad ..	1	1	19	24,190
7.	Kutch .. ..	..	1	2	304
8.	Madhya Bharat ..	1	1	26	42,481
9.	Madhya Pradesh ..	..	1	20	35,041
10.	Madras	1	3	242	1,45,115
11.	Mysore	1	1	67	42,061
12.	Orissa .. ..	..	1	8	7,138
13.	PEPSU .. ..	..	1	16	4,400
14.	Punjab .. ..	..	1	138	17,926
15.	Rajasthan .. ..	..	1	23	10,993
16.	Saurashtra	1	1	31	12,949
17.	Travancore-Cochin ..	..	1	33	12,507
18.	Uttar Pradesh ..	1	2	112	81,719
19.	West Bengal ..	1	6	444	4,03,299
20.	Andhra .. ..	..	1	26	16,364
Total ..		11	35	1,930	15,41,514

* This does not include the regional provident fund commissioners.

The administrative difficulties in starting and running the organisation were aggravated by Government's desire

to bring the Scheme into force immediately after the passing of the Employees' Provident Funds Act in November, 1952. These difficulties may, for convenience, be classified under the three heads : men, machines and material. There were also those of a fourth category—procedures.

It was indeed a problem how to recruit the requisite staff for running the scheme of such great proportions. It would have been desirable to recruit men and women for the work from the existing services and the open market with a view to making it a self-contained Department from the beginning, but to avoid delay in implementing the scheme officers and staff were borrowed from the Central and State Governments as a matter of policy : administrative officers from the Central Government and State Governments and accounts officers and staff from the Defence Accounts Department. The Regional Provident Fund Commissioners and Provident Fund Inspectors are drawn from the Labour or other Departments of State Governments. Most of the Regional Provident Fund Commissioners are part-time officers and are mostly Labour Commissioners or Chief Inspectors of Factories, in the States. In fact, the policy of entrusting the provident fund work to them was found advantageous, for, with the experience of factory legislation and contacts with the employers and employees gained in the official work, they were in a better position to ensure effective implementation of the Scheme. Besides, the ultimate policy being to decentralise the administration of the Scheme to State Governments it was felt desirable to associate their officers with the Scheme from the very beginning. The accounts sections in the regional offices constitute the back-bone of the machinery and their success depended on men at the head of those sections. It proved an up-hill task to find the right type of persons. Fortunately, the Controller General of Defence Accounts suggested some officers of his Department who had just retired. They have been of immense help in placing the accounts branches on a sound footing. It is true that some of these officers were a bit expensive but the slight excess in expenditure has been more than compensated by gain in efficiency. It is now the intention to replace these and other borrowed officers and staff in gradual stages and thus make the Department self-sufficient.

The next problem which had to be faced was procurement of machines. The number of individual accounts to be maintained is of the order of 550,000 and many separate

calculations are involved in each account. A view was put forward that it would be appropriate for the Labour Ministry to adopt a method which would provide avenues for increased employment. After careful consideration, however, it was decided that the accounts should be mechanised. The accounts sections in all important regional offices now use accounting machines. But when orders were placed in early October, 1952 with the Central Stationery Office, Calcutta for supply of 36 Remington Accounting Machines and 9 Calculating Machines, only 12 Accounting Machines were available ex-stock with the suppliers and the rest had to be imported from abroad. The twelve machines were actually supplied to the regional offices in May, 1953. The next twelve machines were, however, available only by the end of December, 1953. In the absence of the full complement of machines needed, the maintenance of members' accounts fell into arrears, which could be cleared only by the end of March, 1954, with the help of special staff costing about Rs. 60,000.

Another major problem with which the organisers were confronted was the provision of office accommodation and procurement of furniture, equipment, stationery and forms for the regional offices. In some States private buildings had to be hired, in some the Estate Managers allotted requisitioned buildings and in some others the State Governments provided accommodation, though scanty, in their own buildings. Indeed, the Central Office at Delhi could not be formed till the middle of 1954 due largely to scarcity of accommodation. The organisation was set up by a statute and it is expected to be made permanent shortly. Eventually it will be better and cheaper for the Department to build up its own office buildings, at least for the more important regional offices.

Next in importance was the purchase of a large number of articles of furniture for regional offices according to certain approved scales. With a view to economy, good second-hand furniture was acquired from Government sources, wherever possible and the rest by outright purchase. The Scheme provides that employers will be supplied forms free of cost on demand which, in effect, meant supply of ten million forms. The requirements of paper and printing were worked out in consultation with the Controller of Printing and Stationery and in order to obviate delay in supply the forms

were printed at four different centres. Arrangements were made with the Central Stationery Office and the Central Forms Store, Calcutta, and State Stationery Departments to meet the urgent demand of regional commissioners for other types of stationery.

Extensive procedural arrangements had to be made for collecting contributions and administrative and inspection charges from employers and for the submission of prescribed returns. The procedures set could not obviously be put into operation without the active support of employers and workers. In the early stages, lack of full co-operation from some important employers, partly due to their ignorance of obligations under the statute and partly intentional, hampered the enforcement of procedural arrangements. In some instances, the employees also withheld co-operation and protested against recovery of contributions from their wages. This called for intensified publicity and public relations. The workers have now come to appreciate the advantages of the provident fund and the Organisation has received quite a number of requests from employers and employees for coming voluntarily under the Scheme. The Act was amended suitably in December 1953 to enable the Organisation to comply with these requests. A survey of some additional industries, commercial establishments, plantations and mines is at present in progress with a view to extending the Scheme to them. This extension is likely to be completed by the end of November 1955.

The Organisation tries to run itself as economically as possible. No part of the administrative expenditure is defrayed from the provident fund collections of members. It is met by levies at a prescribed rate on the factories covered by the Act. The income so realised for the year 1954-55 was Rs. 27,10,000 and the expenditure Rs. 21,87,000. The per capita cost on the administration of the Scheme comes to Rs. 1-7-0 per annum, while the total expenditure incurred since the inception of the Scheme works out to 1% of the corpus of the Fund, which, as mentioned earlier, is Rs. 40,00,00,000.

The above brief account of how the Provident Fund Organisation was established and how it approached its task underlines the importance of advanced planning of all projects in detail, in every aspect—organisation, procedures,

personnel, finances, equipment, supplies, and public co-operation. The administrative difficulties and procedural impediments likely to arise should also be anticipated. These considerations are especially significant in welfare projects which, if held up midway due to bad planning naturally cause intense resentment among the beneficiaries. The story of the provident fund for labour also indicates that it is not sufficient merely to augment our resources ; it is equally important to make the best use of them by intelligent planning and forethought.

—:0:—

The relationship between the Minister and the civil servants should be—and usually is—that of colleagues working together in a team, co-operative partners seeking to advance the public interest and the efficiency of the Department. The Minister should not be an isolated autocrat, giving orders without hearing or considering arguments for alternative courses ; nor, on the other hand, should the civil servants be able to treat him as a mere cipher. The partnership should be alive and virile, rival ideas and opinions should be fairly considered, and the relationship of all should be one of mutual respect—on the understanding, of course, that the Minister's decision is final and must be loyally and helpfully carried out, and that he requires efficient and energetic service."

—*The Right Hon. Herbert Morrison*
(in 'Government and Parliament')

The Regulation of Forward Markets

W. R. Natu

THERE is a long tradition of forward trading in India going back in the case of some commodities to over a hundred years. Prior to World War II, forward trading was carried on in various agricultural commodities such as cotton, grains, jute, spices, sugar, shellac, etc., and in such mineral and manufactured commodities as bullion, metals, cotton yarn and cloth, and jute goods. During the early years of World War II, the prices of various commodities rose to high levels as a result of short supply and the Government of India issued orders under the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting forward trading in most commodities. During the post-war period, since shortages continued and prices were still ruling high, it was thought desirable to continue the prohibitions, particularly those relating to essential commodities such as raw cotton, foodgrains, edible oilseeds and oils and spices. The prohibitory orders were, therefore, continued under the Essential Supplies Temporary Powers Act (1946) after the lapse of the Defence of India Act. Similar prohibitory orders were issued under the same Act in respect of cottonseed, sugar and *gur*, though the order in respect of *gur* was cancelled in December, 1953. Forward trading in jute goods also was banned in December, 1952, by the West Bengal Government under the West Bengal Jute Goods Act, 1950. With the growing improvement in the supply position in recent years and the consequent downward trend of commodity prices, there has been an increasing demand for the removal of the bans on forward trading.

The working of forward markets is looked upon with considerable suspicion by the general public, who are appalled by the large profits and losses which can be made overnight through transactions relating to goods which are not required to change hands and which have often yet to be produced. In actual fact, however, if the forward markets are organized on proper lines, and are open only to persons with knowledge and experience of the trade, they are able to render important economic services to the community.

The principal benefits of a forward market may be summed up briefly : First, it enables large purchases and sales of goods to be made at short notice in advance of delivery, and even in advance of production. It thereby facilitates the undertaking of lengthy and complex processes of production and manufacture. Secondly, it facilitates the smooth flow of goods from the producer to the consumer without causing the goods to become abnormally cheap during times of harvest or abnormally dear towards the end of the season. It thereby eliminates rapid and violent fluctuations in prices and provides a certain measure of stability. Thirdly, it enables operators to adjust their stock position continuously to changing prospects of supply and demand, and brings about an integrated price structure in different parts of the country and at different moments of time. Finally, it enables buyers and sellers of goods to insure themselves against the uncertainties arising from changes in prices in response to change in market conditions.

While forward markets thus render a distinct service to the community, they are also capable of abuse ; constant vigilance is, therefore, necessary. A forward market tempts persons with insufficient funds and little experience to indulge in large operations through brokers at nominal brokerage charges. When these persons default on their obligations, they not only ruin themselves and their creditors, but also upset the entire market. The professional speculators are, on the other hand, tempted to use their expert knowledge and financial resources to manipulate the market to serve their own interests. The activities of unscrupulous operators lead to frequent crises ending in widespread failure to meet obligations and untold suffering to genuine operators. It is because of such abuses of the freedom of trade that forward markets have got a bad name. It is important, therefore, that forward markets should be permitted only under regulation in the public interest.

II

The earlier attempts at regulation were aimed at tackling particular situations affecting particular commodities, after a crisis had been reached. Whenever excessive speculation in a particular market led to a situation in which prices were skyrocketing or a large number of operators were unable to meet their obligations, the Government was forced to intervene

in order to enforce and bring about an orderly settlement, and at times even to close the market. It was gradually realised that it would be more prudent to maintain constant vigilance and prevent the development of a crisis than try to cure it after it had already developed. The first comprehensive measure for the purpose of continuous regulation was taken in Bombay State in 1947, when the Bombay Forward Contracts Control Act was enacted. The Act was a permissive one and was applied to cotton, oilseeds and bullion. It vested certain regulatory powers in the State Government but did not set up any independent body specifically for exercising them. After Independence, stock exchanges and future markets were included in the Union List of powers under the new Constitution and it was decided to undertake central legislation on the subject. In February, 1950, the Futures Markets Regulation Bill was drafted and was circulated to State Governments, Chambers of Commerce, the Reserve Bank of India, and other interests for eliciting their views. The draft bill was later referred to an expert committee under the Chairmanship of Shri A.D. Shroff, which suggested various modifications. A fresh bill was introduced in Parliament in December, 1950, and after undergoing some changes at the Select Committee stage, it was placed on the Statute Book in December, 1952, as the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1952. The Act is an enabling measure and its regulatory provisions are applied by notification to particular commodities and areas. It prohibits options and covers mainly what are known as "transferable specific delivery contracts" and "hedge" or "futures contracts". It provides, however, for the inclusion of "non-transferable specific delivery contracts" also in its ambit if the circumstances so warrant. Ordinarily, the regulation is to take place through recognised associations, but these associations have to work under the general supervision and direction of a special statutory authority, *viz.* the Forward Markets Commission.

The distinction made by the Act between non-transferable specific delivery contracts on the one hand and transferable specific delivery contracts or hedge or futures contracts on the other, is of some importance. The distinction rests principally on the conditions relating to the delivery of goods against the contracts and the mode of their settlement.

In non-transferable specific delivery contracts, delivery of goods is a common feature. The goods have to be of a

specified quality and have to be delivered in a specified quantity at a specified destination for a specified price. This type of contract resembles the ready contract except that the delivery of goods takes place after a longer period. Under a transferable specific delivery contract, delivery takes place between the first seller and the last buyer since the contract is transferable from hand to hand, but it has to conform to the same detailed specifications as the non-transferable contract. Hedge or futures contracts, however, do not visualise actual delivery at all, except in a residual sense.

The settlement in a non-transferable specific delivery contract takes place through the payment of the full value of goods by the buyer to the seller. The hedge or futures contracts and transferable specific delivery contracts in so far as the intermediate buyers and sellers are concerned, are, however, settled by the payment of differences between the prices at which the contracts were bought and the prices at which they were sold.

The transferable specific delivery contract thus occupies a position intermediate between the non-transferable specific delivery contract on the one hand and the futures or hedge contract on the other. It has points of resemblance to both but is treated on a par with the futures or hedge contract under the Act as it is not easy, in practice, to distinguish between the two.

The distinction made in the Act between the transferable or hedge contracts and non-transferable specific delivery contracts was the result of a compromise arrived at in Parliament between the school of thought which desired to bring all types of forward contracts under Government regulation and that which pleaded for the maximum freedom being given to the normal channels of trade. In the end it was decided that non-transferable specific delivery contracts which are essentially non-speculative transactions, need not be brought under regulation except where the freedom to trade in this manner was likely to be abused.

III

The responsibility for enforcing the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act and for regulating forward markets in the whole country is vested in the Forward Markets Commission

established under the provisions of the Act. The functions of the Commission may be grouped under four heads :—

- (1) The Commission carries out exploratory studies for advising the Government whether it would be desirable to apply the Act by notification to particular commodity markets.
- (2) It receives and makes recommendations to Government on the applications made by different associations who ask for "recognition" in respect of forward trading in different commodities and areas.
- (3) It keeps forward markets under constant observation, collects economic and statistical data relating to them and inspects accounts of recognised associations.
- (4) It regulates recognised associations by giving them directions, approving or amending their Articles of Agreement and By-laws, and in abnormal situations, even by superseding their governing bodies and requiring them to suspend their business.

The Commission thus has quasi-judicial as well as executive functions.

The Commission was formally set up in September, 1953, but its earlier months were naturally devoted to house-keeping problems such as securing accommodation, recruiting staff and organizing its office. It laid down its procedure of work in May 1954, and for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of the Act, drafted the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Rules, 1954, which were gazetted in July, 1954. Since then, the Commission has submitted six reports based on its exploratory studies, making detailed recommendations to Government regarding the desirability of applying the Act by notification to the trade in cotton, castor seed and castor oil, groundnut and groundnut oil, shellac, linseed and linseed oil, and raw jute and jute goods. The recommendations of the Commission contained in five of these reports have already been accepted by Government and action is pending only on its report on raw jute and jute goods.

Section 15 of the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act

provides that the Central Government may notify that all forward contracts in specified areas in respect of notified goods shall be illegal *except* those entered 'between members of recognised associations or through or with any such member'. Section 17 further empowers the Government to regulate forward contracts in cases to which the provisions of Section 15 are not made applicable.

The Central Government issued a notification on the 30th July, 1954, applying Section 15 of the Act to Indian cotton throughout India. Similar notifications were issued on 25th January, 1955, applying either Section 15 or Section 17 of the Act to a wide range of commodities such as oilseeds and oils, spices, wheat and gram.

After the issue of the notifications, the Commission invited applications from concerned associations dealing in the various commodities to which the Act has been applied and these are at present under its consideration. The Commission submitted a report to Government in March, 1955, on the recognition of associations in respect of forward contracts in cotton. The Government has accepted the main recommendation of the Commission that in addition to the East India Cotton Association, Bombay, for which recognition was recommended on a permanent basis, forward markets may be established in some other centres as well and has decided to make a beginning with two other centres, viz. Akola and Indore. The reports of the Commission on the recognition of associations in respect of groundnut and groundnut oil, castor and castor oil, linseed and linseed oil, and cotton seed are expected to be submitted to Government by the end of June 1955.

As a result of the application of Section 15 of the Act to cotton in July, 1954, and castor seeds in January, 1955, the recognition granted earlier by the Government of Bombay to the East India Cotton Association and the Bombay Oilseeds Exchange respectively has been continued and these two markets have come under the regulation of the Commission. The Commission has, however, required the two associations to make a number of modifications in their Articles of Association and trading By-laws designed principally (i) to lay down the channels through which information will flow to the Commission, and (ii) to prevent excessive trading on the part of operators with small means. With a view to achieving

the first objective, the Commission has instituted a system of written contracts and required the members to maintain their records of transactions for a period of three years. It has also prescribed the submission of weekly returns by members showing details of their daily transactions, as also by the associations giving particulars regarding prices, deliveries, surveys, arbitrations, etc. As regards the second objective, the Commission has prohibited partners of member firms from transacting business in their individual capacities and has developed a system of margins requiring the business transacted above a certain minimum limit to be subjected to a progressively increasing payment of deposits. The experience gained in the regulation of these two markets would be of invaluable assistance to the Commission in evolving regulatory measures for other markets that might be opened in the future.

IV

The magnitude and difficulties of the task before the Commission can be best appreciated by following up the various stages of its work. In each of these stages, the Commission has to weigh conflicting considerations and reach a decision in the public interest.

In the first place, the Commission has to examine whether the commodity under study is intrinsically suitable for the organisation of forward trading. The commodity should be capable of being graded and standardised. Its supply should be large enough to prevent its being cornered by unscrupulous persons. It should also have a wide demand so that no single group of buyers, such as processors or exporters, should be able to exercise monopoly power. It should attract an adequate number of operators in the market, willing to deal in the commodity and hold its stocks. It should be able to command ample storage facilities, so that stocks could be held without deterioration in quality for long periods. If after an examination of these factors, the Commission comes to the conclusion that the commodity is not suitable for forward trading, it need not pursue the matter further.

If the commodity is found suitable, the Commission has to consider whether the time is opportune for permitting forward trading in it. It might well be that though the commodity is otherwise suitable, the supply and demand position

may not warrant the opening of a forward market. The Commission has also to take into consideration the size of the current crop, the estimated marketable surplus, the trend of prices at home and abroad, and the restrictions placed by Government on the import and export of the commodity.

If it is decided that forward trading should be permitted in the commodity, the question arises whether it should be permitted at one centre in the country or at many centres.

In the pre-war years when forward trading was free, it used to be conducted at numerous centres, small and big, all over the country. Often, there used to be a number of independent markets in the same town, each run under the auspices of a different trading body. The multiplicity of markets, some of which were conducted without any well-established rules or conventions, frequently led to abnormal situations with consequent hardship to affected parties. With the acceptance of the principle of regulation, it is obvious that markets cannot be permitted to be set up anywhere and a careful selection of the centres has to be made.

In this connection, there are two principal views advanced : (1) unitary control with a single centre of forward trading for each commodity ; and (2) multiple trading through a number of centres, each catering for a particular region.

The main arguments in favour of unitary control are that it simplifies the task of the regulating authority, enforces a uniform basis for all contracts, and secures a wide market for the commodity. Multiple trading, on the other hand, enables hedging facilities to be provided within easy reach and at lower cost to the smaller grower and dealer, and further enables the contracts to be adjusted to the needs of the locality. It is felt that since the smaller markets are likely to be operated by persons who are in genuine need of hedge protection, the operations are likely to be less speculative in character. The choice between one market and many markets is thus a choice between ease of regulation and flexibility in the facilities provided.

The Commission has generally taken the view that a single centre of forward trading for each commodity was not a practical proposition in a country like India where transport and communication facilities have yet to be developed, the needs of different localities vary widely and the chain of

intermediaries between the grower and the consumer is long. In an underdeveloped country, the protection that hedging provides is inadequately appreciated by the smaller growers and dealers. The current quotation of the hedge contract determines the prices paid to the grower all over the country-side and yet the complicated mechanism of the hedge market remains a sealed book to him. The Commission has, therefore, felt that hedging facilities needed to be provided within easy reach of the smaller growers and dealers and that forward markets would, therefore, have to be organised at several centres for meeting the requirements of the more important producing and consuming regions.

The selection of a centre for forward trading has to be made from a number of competing claimants. The factors governing the selection are many and often pull in different directions. The centre selected should be well-connected by rail and road with different producing markets and consuming points. It should be linked with the markets within the region as well as with the other centres of forward trading in the country through a net-work of telephone and telegraph connections. It should command a sufficiently large proportion of the crop of the region within its neighbourhood and should be able to attract additional supplies from other producing areas. It should have important consuming interests such as processors, manufacturers and exporters located within easy distance to ensure a steady demand for the commodity. It should also be a centre of trade in other commodities and should have adequate banking, insurance and storage facilities. It should have a tradition of hedge trading and should possess a class of professional brokers and speculators without whom a hedge market could not function. It should be conveniently situated from the point of the other markets in the region so that its facilities could be utilised not only by its own residents but also by the trading community in the entire region.

Finally, the successful working of the centre selected would depend almost wholly on the availability of a representative association, possessing the necessary experience and resources and capable of discharging its duties in an impartial and responsible manner. The recognition of an association confers upon it a valuable privilege inasmuch as it renders contracts entered into through the agency of other non-recognised associations illegal. It is of the highest importance,

therefore, that this privilege should be exercised solely in the public interest. If such an association is already in existence at the selected centre and has applied for recognition, it could be recommended for the purpose, subject, of course, to its willingness to alter its Articles and By-laws in accordance with the directions of the Commission. If, however, no such association is in existence at the centre, the opening of futures trading would have to be deferred until an association was established. If more than one association has applied for recognition from the centre selected, a choice would have to be made from amongst the competing applicants.

This choice would depend upon various factors. The conditions of incorporation of the association should clearly highlight the public service character of its functions. Its administration should not be entrusted to a managing agency and the dividend distributed by it should be nominal. It should be open to all persons genuinely interested in trading and having the financial resources to do so. It should, at the same time, keep out persons of doubtful reputation and persons having no direct stake in the commodity. The Board of Directors should include a fair representation of the different interests concerned so that it might inspire general confidence among the members and ensure the careful consideration of issues from all points of view. The procedure of trading should be adjusted to the nature of the commodity, the economic conditions of the locality and the requirements of the market. The unit of trading should be fixed at a level which would be within the means of the operators. The settlement of contracts should be effected through an independent clearing house and satisfactory arrangements should be made for the expert survey of the goods tendered and the impartial arbitration of disputes. The measures for preventing overtrading by members should be effective and ample safeguards should be provided for dealing promptly with emergencies. Above all, the association should realise that its business has to be conducted in the larger interests of the community and it should, therefore, be willing to discuss its problems with the regulating authorities and loyally follow their directions.

After the associations have been granted recognition and the markets have begun to operate, the Commission has to maintain a constant watch to see that healthy conditions are maintained, the rules of trading are scrupulously adhered to and the directions given are faithfully carried out. To this

end, it has to organise an enforcement machinery by opening its sub-offices in important zones and setting up its own inspectorate. The contravention of the provisions of the Act involves penalties extending to fine as well as imprisonment, but the very nature of the operations is such that contraventions cannot be easily detected by the normal agencies responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The responsibility for detecting breaches of the provisions of the Forward Markets (Regulation) Act and for bringing offenders to book will, therefore, devolve largely on the technical and inspecting staff of the Commission.

V

The regulation of forward contracts is a highly complex task requiring continuous watchfulness of the markets and sympathetic understanding of the ways of trading. The purpose of regulation is to avoid undue harassment to genuine trade and yet secure safe and orderly conditions in the market. The existence of a well-regulated market functioning under the law discourages resort to the illegal markets which are otherwise rampant and not easy to suppress. The primary machinery for regulation is the association of the trading interests themselves. The role of the Commission is mainly supervisory. Its function is to ensure that the association discharges its duties in time and in an impartial and equitable manner. It collects for this purpose information of various sorts from various sources, considers all suggestions received, investigates complaints and redresses grievances. The Commission tries to take preventive measures in advance to avoid taking punitive measures later. It aims at preventing crises from developing by remaining constantly on guard.

The Commission believes in working unobtrusively so that the actual regulation could be carried on by the recognised associations themselves under its advice. The implications of the Act have not, however, yet been fully understood by all the interests concerned. Regulation of forward trading on an all-India scale is being attempted for the first time. The associations have to adjust their ways to the new requirements. The Commission also has to break new ground, create its own procedures and train its technical staff. It is hoped that in course of time these difficulties would be surmounted and that the associations would develop a high sense of responsibility to render it unnecessary for the Commission to use its powers.

EDITORIAL NOTES

In launching this, the second issue of the journal, we acknowledge with gratitude the many expressions of appreciation and encouragement received by us after the publication of the first issue. It will be our best endeavour to continue in the future to earn and to deserve the same enthusiastic support.

We are fortunate again in having a contribution from Mr. Paul H. Appleby; and our special thanks are due to the Political Quarterly and to Mr. Attlee for kindly permitting the reproduction of the article on "Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public".

Brief particulars about other contributors to this issue are given immediately after the table of contents.

A word of explanation may be added for the benefit of those who may feel that the journal should only print original work and that to publish matter which has already appeared elsewhere indicates inadequacy of editorial resources. A journal which aims at providing a vehicle for the expression, exchange and dissemination of news and views bearing upon any subject must, to some extent, "review" what has already been said or written in other places and at other times. For the sharing and spreading of knowledge and understanding, the "*what*" and the "*how*" are of supreme importance; *who* and *where* are at best of secondary consequence. If, therefore, we come across anything said or written anywhere which will help materially in spreading knowledge or understanding of Public Administration among the readers of this journal, we deem it our duty to pass the benefit on.

With this issue we have opened a new department for book reviews and notices and from the next issue we hope to open a section for brief recording of news-items of important events and developments in the field of Public Administration in India and abroad.

Our policy continues as before and we repeat our invitation to readers and well-wishers to send in contributions. Whether they come as articles, reviews, letters or news, they will all receive cordial consideration.

—Editor

—:0:—

“Planning is not a franchise or immunity which lies outside the jurisdiction of free discussion and voluntary compromise. If the State adds to itself economic organs, it does so only in order to achieve a fuller and more informed discussion, and not in order to devolve upon them the burden of decision. If it encourages the leaders, directors, and experts in the various economic fields to do the work of self-planning, it does not remit that work to their unfettered discretion ; it does not abdicate its own duty of criticism and supervision ; nor does it release economic self-planning and self-government from their necessary immersion in the general and total flood of political self-government.....”

×

×

×

×

“.....the democratic State (is) not a thing or structure which is to be adjusted to the march of economic progress, but rather a spirit and a power which is to be maintained in its own true nature and individuality. The democratic State is not a Church, and democracy is not a religion. Neither, again, is democracy ‘a way of life’, or a general body and scheme of culture. It is simply itself, and simply a mode of human government ; and Churches and cultures exist by its side in their own right and with their own roots.”

—Ernest Barker
(in ‘Reflections on Government’)

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERLY REPORT

I. Elections to the Executive Council for 1955-56

In pursuance of the provisions of rules 14 and 15 of the Rules of the Institute, elections to the Executive Council for 1955-56 were held in February-March, 1955 and the following were declared elected to the Council :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Shri V. T. Krishnamachari | Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of India. |
| 2. Shri Y. N. Sukthankar | Cabinet Secretary and Secretary, Planning Commission, Government of India. |
| 3. Shri H. M. Patel | Secretary, Dept. of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India. |
| 4. Shri Humayun Kabir | Secretary and Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education, Government of India. |
| 5. Shri N. K. Sidhanta | Member, Union Public Service Commission. |
| 6. Shri B. Venkatappiah | Executive Director, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay. |
| 7. Prof. S. V. Kogekar | Head of the Dept. of Economics and Politics, Fergusson College, Poona. |
| 8. Shri S. Ranganathan | Joint Secretary, Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply, Government of India. |
| 9. Prof. V. K. N. Menon | University Professor of Politics and Director, Institute of Public Administration, Patna University. |
| 10. Shri Din Dayal Sharma | Secretary, New Delhi Municipal Committee. |
| 11. Shri H. C. Mathur | Member, Rajya Sabha. |
| 12. Shri S. N. Mozumdar | Managing Director, Hindustan Steel Co., Ltd. |
| 13. Shri Sri Ram Sharma | Director, Institute of Public Administration, Shalimar |

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 14. Shri M. K. Mathulla | Officer on Special Duty and ex-officio Joint Secretary, Ministry of Production, Govt. of India. |
| 15. Shri Din Diyal | Principal, Municipal Boys Higher Secondary School, New Delhi. |

The result of the election was announced at the Annual General Meeting held on the 1st April, 1955. At this meeting **Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**, Prime Minister of India, was unanimously elected as the President of the Institute and **Shri S. B. Bapat** as the Honorary Treasurer for the year 1955-56.

The elected members of the new Council later co-opted the following five additional members :—

Co-opted Members

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Shri G. L. Bansal | Member, Lok Sabha and Secretary-General, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi. |
| Prof. R. Bhaskaran | Head of the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras. |
| Shri N. V. Gadgil | Member, Lok Sabha. |
| Dr. Shrimati Secta Parmanand | Member, Rajya Sabha. |
| Shri L. P. Singh | Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar. |

The Executive Council thus constituted has since elected the following further office-bearers :—

Chairman of the Executive Council

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Shri V. T. Krishnamachari | Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of India. |
|---------------------------|--|

Vice-Presidents of the Institute

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant | Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India. |
| Dr. B. C. Roy | Chief Minister, West Bengal. |
| Shri C. D. Deshmukh | Minister for Finance, Government of India. |

Pandit H. N. Kunzru

Member, Rajya Sabha. Member of the States Re-organisation Commission. President of the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh

Chief Minister, Delhi State.

The new Executive Council thus represents a wide and varied range of interests and experiences.

II. Prof. D. G. Karve

Prof. D. G. Karve, Director of the Institute since its inception, gave up his office with effect from 5th June, 1955. Pending the appointment of a full-time Director, the Executive Council has empowered Shri S. B. Bapat, Honorary Treasurer, to discharge the duties of the Director.

Prof. D. G. Karve—a veteran economist and philosopher-administrator—has been associated with the Institute since 1953 when the idea of setting up the Institute was first actively considered. Indeed, but for the work done by him as one of the two joint organisers, the Institute might never have come into being. The Institute's present Programme of Action is largely the result of Prof. Karve's planning and efforts. The contribution made by Prof. Karve to the Institute's work will be long remembered. Though Prof. Karve is no more the Director, he is still an active member and his guidance and leadership will continue to be available to this organisation.

III. Oxford Round Table

Shri S. B. Bapat, Honorary Treasurer and Director pro tem., will represent the Institute at the Oxford Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, to be held from July 10 to 15, 1955. The major subjects for discussion, of interest to India, at the Round Table are :—

1. Common factors in the management of public and private enterprises.
2. Ways to increase the efficiency of public economic enterprises.—Advances in business administration and public administration most applicable to public economic enterprises.

IV. Information and Reference Services

The Institute's library has collected about 800 books bearing on several aspects of public administration. Contacts have been established with important foreign libraries and universities. Reports and documents on the working of the Central and State Government Departments are being obtained. The next stage would be to build up bibliographies and documentation on Indian administration.

V. Monograph on Recruitment and Training

At the request of the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, Shri S. B. Bapat is preparing, for the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, a monograph on 'Public Services in India : Organisation, Recruitment and Training'.

VI. Publications

The Institute has published, in a booklet form, report of a talk on the 'Problems of Recruitment and Training of Civil Servants in the U.K.', given on the 5th March, 1955 by Sir Paul Sinker, formerly the First Civil Service Commissioner in the U. K.

".....Who should study public administration ? Everyone—but in varying ways and with varying intensity. The basic reason is *understanding*. All people in a civilized society need an appreciation of the role of administration in their culture because, willy-nilly, administration is an important aspect of their lives, from the nearest physical aspect to the remotest spiritual or intellectual aspect. *All* persons in a civilized society are consumers of administration, and they should be *good* consumers, prepared to react intelligently and appreciatively, or with intelligent criticism."

"Nearly all persons in a civilized society are also participants in administration, in varying degree and manner. And *according to degree and manner* they need to know what has been learned about administration, that is to say, the technical or professional lore."

—DWIGHT WALDO
(in '*The Study of Public Administration*')

BOOK REVIEWS

GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT, A Survey from the Inside;
HERBERT MORRISON. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1954. 363p. 21s.

The voice of experience is rarely recorded in the literature of Public Administration. Even when it does find expression, it is usually in the form of memoirs intended more for the entertainment of the general reader than for the information of the serious inquirer. In no other professional field is the description and critical appraisal of the problems and processes involved left so much to the outside observer and helped so little by the inside practitioner. Mr. Morrison's book would have been of real value even if its only merit had been that it was written by someone who could say: "I was there—I saw and did these things myself—This is what I think about it all." In this case the voice is backed by the authority of one who has for decades played a leading role both as a member of the Government and in the Opposition in the cradle of democracy and the Mother of Parliaments; and the voice has expressed itself in language of remarkable clarity, simplicity and candour. The resultant record has indeed become invaluable. In all countries which, like India, have adopted a form of Government based essentially on the British model, this book should be looked upon as "required reading" for students of political science and public administration as well as for legislators, civil servants and aspirants to political offices. All the questions which any of these might wish to know have been anticipated and answered by Mr. Morrison and no aspect of the *practical* working of the machinery of Parliament and Government has been overlooked.

In fact, the survey has an even wider sweep. The Chapters on "Socialisation of Industry" and "Economic Planning and Controls" form a concise and yet comprehensive presentation of the policies and performance of the Labour Government of 1945-51. These Chapters should enrich the knowledge not only of administrationists but also of historians, economists and planners generally.

The book falls into three main divisions. The first four Chapters deal with "The Cabinet and Ministers" and tell everything anybody should wish to learn on the subject. They start with simple things, such as, how often the British Cabinet meets, how the decisions are taken and recorded, etc., and end with a detailed discussion of some of the most important and controversial points relating to Cabinet Government: namely, the optimum size and composition of the Cabinet and the problem of securing effective co-ordination between groups of departments with *touching* and possibly conflicting interests, without detriment to the effective enforcement of the Ministers' answerability to Parliament. The description of the abortive experiment of having "overlord" Ministers tried in the Churchill Government (1951-53) will be of special interest to Indian readers who are aware of the somewhat similar suggestions included

in the late Shri N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's proposals for the reorganisation of the machinery of the Government of India. There is little doubt that if the proposal to secure "decentralised co-ordination" through co-ordinating Ministers placed in charge of groups of departments had been accepted in India, the British experience would have been repeated here.

The next seven Chapters are devoted to a complete description of the functioning and inter-relations of the Monarchy, the Parliament and the Party System. Of particular significance is Mr. Morrison's account of the part played by the late King George V in the formation of National Government in 1931—an episode which is often touched upon in modern textbooks on political science but seldom fully explained. The Estimates Committees and the Public Accounts Committees of the Indian Parliament and the State Legislatures might find on pages 148 and 149 some useful guidance not only on what similar committees of the British House of Commons do, but also on what they do *not* do.

The third part of the book entitled "Administration" begins with the two Chapters already referred to on "Socialisation of Industry" and "Economic Planning and Controls". Besides explaining the how and why of the adoption of these measures by the Labour Government as a means to an end, Mr. Morrison has also given a clear and useful analysis of the very difficult problem of balancing reasonable autonomy for the State enterprises against the preservation of Ministerial responsibility to Parliament.

Parts of the final Chapter on "Ministers and Civil Servants" might well be printed separately as a self-contained hand-book for the guidance of Ministers and Civil Servants in all the Parliamentary Democracies in the world—especially the younger ones. Many have written on this topic but few have done it so ably, effectively and entertainingly.

S. B. Bapat

TRAINING MANAGERS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES. *London, Allen & Unwin. 1955. 84p. 7/6d. Published for the Royal Institute of Public Administration, London.*

During 1954 the Royal Institute of Public Administration, London, organised a series of lectures to give an account of the training schemes developed in the various branches of the public services. These lectures have been brought together in this volume and prove that a great deal of serious and original thinking is going on in the different Ministries, Departments and autonomous Corporations on the subject of how management training should be organised and managerial ability developed from within.

The editors have also included two items which were not part of the lecture series. The first is a detailed account of the training programme for managerial staff in the service of the London County Council and the other is an account of "Management development in the U. S. A." given by Colonel Urwick, who was invited by the American

Management Association, to make special investigation in this field. These two are in some ways the most rewarding chapters in this volume and merit careful perusal by all who are interested in the problem of training for the administrative cadres in India.

All in all, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject and the Royal Institute of Public Administration are to be congratulated on the service they have rendered by its publication.

S. B. B.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE; LORD STRANG. London, Allen & Unwin; New York, Oxford University Press, 1955. 226p. (New Whitehall Series.) 15s.

Written by experts with long and varied experience, the book is the second volume in the New Whitehall Series sponsored by the Royal Institute of Public Administration. The first volume, it will be recalled, dealt with the Home Office. The objective of the series is to present an authoritative, up-to-date and readable survey of the Central Government Departments in the United Kingdom.

"The Foreign Office" will be of interest not only to those in the business of diplomacy but also to students of the broader aspects of political science and of international affairs. We are accustomed to think of diplomats either in the 18th century context as representatives "who are sent abroad to lie for the benefit of their country"; or in the present day belief that representation abroad involves mainly appearing at public ceremonies or attending a round of cocktail parties and receptions. There is also a tendency to think of officials serving in this branch of the Government as being like "the fountains of Trafalgar Square which play from 10 to 4". Lord Strang's treatment of the subject in the book under review dispels these popular notions about diplomacy, and puts in correct perspective the heavy and responsible burdens placed on the Foreign Office and its representatives abroad.

Prior to 1943, there existed a certain rigidity in the structure of the British Foreign Service. Officers belonged either to the Diplomatic, the Consular or the Commercial Service and very seldom was there a transfer from one service to another. This sort of caste system became an anachronism, especially as recruits to the Foreign Service could no longer be drawn solely from the landed gentry or from men who were at public schools or the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Eden, was responsible for the 1943 reforms which were calculated to bring the diplomatic service more in line with the changing pattern of international affairs. It was felt that the diplomatic service should not represent the small circle that it did, but rather the interest of the nation as a whole. The modern diplomat, in order to form a properly balanced judgment of world events, had to be of the calibre to realise that economics and finance had become "inextricably interwoven with politics and that an understanding of social problems and labour movements was indispensable".

Lord Strang, the principal author of this book, was largely responsible for putting these reforms into effect. We have, therefore, in the book under

review, for the first time, a first-hand account of the workings of these reforms. In addition, we get a comprehension of the various complex factors which have to be taken into account in the formulation of British Foreign Policy, and, what is more important, the execution of this policy abroad in circumstances that are swiftly changing.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part gives a preliminary sketch of the nature and functions of the Foreign Service in broad outline and goes into the reasons why the Service has grown. The second part deals with the organisation, size and cost of the service as well as the recruitment and training and conditions of service. The third part contains a vivid account of the life and work of officials, both at the Foreign Office and in the Foreign Service establishments abroad. The fourth part of the book, which is perhaps the most important, covers past and present diplomatic practice, the qualifications desirable in members of the Foreign Service and the present problems and possible future trends in diplomacy.

This book is of special interest to us in India. Not only is our Foreign Service a new service but, to some extent, it has been fashioned in the tradition of its British counterpart. The chapter dealing with qualifications desirable in members of the service—of interest to diplomats from all parts of the world—deserves special mention. While emphasising the various qualities necessary in a diplomat, as for example, a balanced intellectual approach, an unending amount of patience and tact, a degree of courage—both physical and moral, Lord Strang lays the greatest stress on what he calls “moral qualities and character” and he explains these as follows:

“Unless he (the diplomat) has also an unassailable integrity of mind—which connotes both honesty and moral courage—since it usually requires a moral courage to be honest—it will avail him little to possess all the purely intellectual gifts in large measures.”

The book is written in an easy style and is, surprisingly enough, free from official verbiage and the abstruseness and inhibitions normally associated with the official mind.

I. J. Bahadur Sing.

ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

Geneva, *International Labour Office*, 1955. 86 p. (*Studies and Reports new series*, No. 4.) \$1. 6s.

The International Labour Organisation which provides a forum at the international level, for the enunciation and elaboration of principle of social justice has brought out yet another of its excellent manuals. The administration of social insurance presents certain special problem in view of the large number of its beneficiaries and the variety of social contingencies with which it deals. There is also the need for economical and expeditious disposal of business keeping in view the convenience of those concerned. The present booklet surveys administrative practice in the traditional social contingencies of sickness, maternity, employment injury, invalidity, old age and death. It deals successively with the

identification and registration of insured persons, registration of employers, methods of collecting contributions, maintenance of individual records of insured persons and checks and statistics as corollary to good administration. Although administration procedures vary from country to country, this study without being selective presents a critical appraisal of certain reasonable and well-tried methods of approach. The publication will be particularly useful to countries in South East Asia which are in the birth pangs of social insurance legislation. Hitherto the information, though available to social security carriers, was scattered in various statutes, regulations and publications. The International Labour Organisation has done useful work in bringing together the main practices in vogue indicating their advantages and disadvantages. In adopting any of the procedures, the point naturally to be borne in mind is that blind imitation of the methods employed in the West may not be equally successful in Asian countries. The nature of communications, the distances involved, the scattered nature of the insured population, the level of education and calibre of the personnel available for these duties—all require to be carefully evaluated. With us in India the need to avoid undue mechanisation which may curtail an expanding field of employment in social security or bring unemployment in its wake is of crucial importance.

V. M. Albuquerque

INDIAN AFFAIRS RECORD; ed. S. L. POPLAI. Calcutta, Orient Longmans, Vol. I, No. 1, February 1955. 23 p. Rs. 1/8/- Annual Rs. 18/-.

The *Record* is a monthly journal published under the auspices of the Diwan Chand Indian Information Centre, New Delhi, in co-operation with the Indian Council of World Affairs. Its regular features include 1) short notes on legislation, foreign affairs, parties and politics, economic development and policy, and social and cultural progress; (2) a summary of press opinion on foreign affairs, political developments and economic policy; (3) a chronology of important events; (4) a list of books, articles and documents for reference purposes; and (5) two short articles of topical interest.

At a time when significant developments are taking place in the political, economic and social life in India, it is difficult for the student of Indian affairs to keep full track of all that is happening around him—happening with an astonishing rapidity. The usefulness of a journal that seeks to record and classify these developments and provide the necessary documentation is obvious. The *Record* is, therefore, a very timely publication. It is to be hoped that it will gradually enlarge the scope and detail of the information given, especially under the heads 'Chronology' and 'Press opinion'. In these matters it could with advantage follow the standards set by 'The World Today' and 'Chronology of International Events' published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. We wish the venture every success.

—B. S. N.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL

OF

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. I

July-September 1955

No. 3

Public Servant in a Democracy

[*These extracts from a talk delivered on the 18th August, 1955, by SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT, Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India, are reproduced by the courtesy of All India Radio.—Ed.*]

“INDIA is now a democratic Republican State. The Directive Principles enshrined in its Constitution dictate the needs of formulating and carrying out policy for the advent of a welfare State on a socialistic pattern as quickly as possible. These objectives lay a heavy and onerous task on the instruments and mechanism that translate policy into practice, viz., the Civil Service.

“These new responsibilities require the proper development of new arts of what may be called social and economic engineering. We inherited what was called, perhaps not quite wrongly, a bureaucratic machine. This machine had its own advantage too. Without system, without regularity, without discipline, no organisation can function but the machine which was designed for different times and with a different purpose has now to be adjusted to suit new needs so as to be more congenial to our soil, to our characteristics and to our traditions.

“The need, however, for methodical ways of work which characterised the public services in the past, is always there whether the system of administration be bureaucratic or democratic or republican or revolutionary but there is something which is superior and without which everything loses much of its worth. That is the soul of administration, the spirit of administration, and if soul and spirit function in a proper way, everything else will follow.”

“The First Five Year Plan is nearing completion and the Second is on the anvil. It is going to be a prodigious effort

which for proper execution will require an army of Civil Servants, responsible, responsive, honest and imbued with a sense of deep devotion to duty. Mere mechanical efficiency of work is not enough. The Services have to give of their best and to put themselves heart and soul on to their work so that the best that they are capable of is put to the service of the country and is utilized to the maximum advantage. We have to stimulate the dormant energy and to harness the immense manpower of India so that life everywhere may be fully revived and revitalised.

"The new tasks of the Civil Servants are therefore all comprehensive and include planning, control and guidance of the entire economic as well as social activities.... The manner in which work is done and its efficiency now directly impinge on the lives of individual citizens. The welfare of the people will to an evergrowing extent depend on the imagination and sympathy and the efficiency with which work is understood and done by the Civil Servants.

"A close analysis of the various components of the vast intricate mechanism that has to handle and grapple with these problems of growing moment and import will be necessary so that proper comprehension of its overall functions and requirements may be possible and automatic checks and controls and adjustments may be provided to ensure the speed of work without impairing efficiency.

"These are the problems that inhere in the running of any large concern and with them are linked the questions such as those of recruitment, training, inter-departmental co-ordination, effective delegation of authority at all levels..., rationalisation of procedure, elimination of cumbersome apparatus of forms, maintenance of happy personnel relations to evoke the best out of colleagues or subordinates, provision of effective punishments and suitable rewards where necessary, proper incentives for efficient work, reduction of time required for taking decision, prompt attendance to correspondence, even distribution of work load, quick flow of communication vertically and horizontally, constant evolution and appraisal of effort, and continuous scrutiny of methods of working for introducing improvements.

"Another very important factor for public servants to bear in mind is with regard to proper use of public funds. The taxpayer's money is hard-earned money and Government are

Trustees of the public funds to ensure that every single pie of it is properly spent and utilised for the fullest benefit of the citizens. Sometimes those who have to spend this money seem to overlook the supreme duty that full worth has to be extracted out of the money spent.

"It is apt to be forgotten that this money is more sacred than their own and no part of it has to be spent in any wasteful manner. A proper climate of economy has to be produced. Economy never means sacrifice of efficiency or of the objectives. The Welfare-State ideal will require the expenditure of huge sums on schemes of public weal, benefit or advantage. These sums must be spent but they must be well spent with care and prudence so that while on the one hand waste is eliminated on the other the purpose underlying the expenditure is completely achieved."



"Equally important is the consideration of keeping one's conduct above reproach and criticism and, like Caesar's wife, to be above suspicion."



"The problem of administration is not mechanical. It is essentially human. Unless therefore it is approached in that right spirit with sympathy, solicitude and understanding the desired results become difficult of achievement. The administrators have to serve the people because that is the only purpose for which they can and they ought to exist. Every ounce of their energy, their intellect, their capacity has to be surrendered to the devoted service of their masters, the people. That has to be their all-consuming passion, and their guiding mission. It needs a full missionary approach for results to be abiding and sweet, and to carry succour and service and light and hope to those still living in hamlets and hutments throughout the country and to apply the soothing balm to the sufferers."

Government in the Communal Villages of Israel

The Hon. Edwin Samuel, C.M.G.

THE first communal village (*kibbutz* in Hebrew: plural, *kibbutzim*) was founded nearly fifty years ago. There are today nearly 250 of them with a total population of over 80,000. The *kibbutz* in Israel has thus passed out of the experimental stage and can be regarded as a going concern. It is not merely a form of economic organization ; there is a social—even a spiritual—movement behind it, involving renunciation of all property by the individual. For that reason, a description of the *kibbutz* movement and of government in the *kibbutz* may be of particular interest to readers in India, where—if I understand correctly—individual renunciation of wealth from idealistic motives still occurs.

There are many young Jewish men and women in Israel—and abroad—who decide to enter a *kibbutz* as a life vocation, much in the same way that Catholic girls decide to enter a convent to become nuns. In both cases, property is renounced but, in the *kibbutz*, celibacy is not required. Husbands and wives live together in the same *kibbutz* as their own children and, often with their own parents (the children's grandparents). Husband and wife are each members of the *kibbutz* in their own right. If the husband goes into the army and is killed in action, his widow remains a member of the *kibbutz* in which she, too, works. The children continue to be maintained and educated by the *kibbutz*. We have here the most complete form of the welfare state, where death of the head of the family does not even involve an application by the widow for assistance : she and her children get it automatically.

All the children in each *kibbutz* are brought up together in communal boarding schools in the centre of the *kibbutz*, according to their age groups. There are houses for the infants, with day and night nurseries, served by the women of the *kibbutz* : there is a kindergarten, an elementary school and, in the older and larger *kibbutzim*, a secondary school. The children see their parents when the parents

come back from work in the evening, and can spend all the Sabbath with their parents. There is some discussion still whether it is psychologically sound for infants to be separated from their parents, even in the same village. It undoubtedly allows working parents to get a good night's rest : it frees a proportion of young mothers for work on the farm (some must serve in the children's houses anyhow : each can look after three children, however, and not one). Nevertheless, in a few *kibbutzim*, children sleep with their parents and only go to the kindergarten or school during the day.

The grandparents in the *kibbutz* are mostly beyond working age : but they do odd jobs. Few of them are socialists ; and many of them are not inspired by the high ideals that animate their sons or daughters who are the working members of the *kibbutz*. Although there are *kibbutzim* that follow completely Jewish religious tradition and ritual, most *kibbutzim* do not. Yet, even in these, special provision is made for the grandparents. They have their own little synagogues and a separate *kosher* kitchen in which their food can be prepared according to the strict prescriptions of the Talmud. Some grandparents, however, eat together with the rest of the community.

The main achievement of the *kibbutz* movement has been the complete abolition of a money economy. Apart from the *kibbutz* treasurer, no *kibbutz* member—unless he has to go to town—ever carries money on him : nor does he ever need it in the village. Everything is provided free of charge by the community in return for the work each member does for the community. Each young man or woman or married couple gets a furnished room rent free. They get all their meals free. They are given whatever clothes they need for work and a "best suit" for Sabbaths and holidays. They can draw soap, razor blades, pencils and other small essentials from the village store. Their clothes are washed, repaired and, if necessary replaced by the village laundry and sewing room. They can say what materials, colour and cut they would like their new clothes to have : but as everyone, even the women, dresses very simply, this is no problem. No *kibbutz* woman would wish to be seen wearing lace or jewellery or lipstick. There is no fixed quantity of anything allowed to each member during the year : each is supplied with what he needs. For example, the teachers may need only one pair of boots each a year, whereas the ploughmen may need two pairs each.

Even individual idiosyncracies are taken into account. If one of the ploughmen drags his feet, and scuffs his boots so badly that he needs three pairs a year, he is asked by the clothing allocation committee to be more careful. If that is beyond him, they issue him with three pairs of boots a year.

Life in a *kibbutz* thus depends on a high level of self-control by each individual member. Nothing is kept locked up. There is no village policeman. Occasional disputes between members are amicably settled by a special group of members elected for that purpose. If a member does not fit into the community, he is asked to leave ; or leaves of his own accord, taking none of the wealth of the *kibbutz* with him, except his clothes and a small sum of money to tide him over until he is established elsewhere. For that reason, it is not easy to get into a *kibbutz*. You must be known and vouched for personally by a *kibbutz* member, or belong to a youth movement affiliated with the *kibbutz* movement. Even so, you must serve a year's probation before you become a full member. If during this year, you show yourself to be a hard worker, always ready to lend a hand in an emergency ; if you do not ask for too many cigarettes from the store when the harvest is bad ; if you get on well with the other members of the *kibbutz*, then, at the end of the year, you'll be asked to stay on for life.

This is not the first attempt in the history of the world to set up rural utopias. Many were founded, for example, in the United States in the last two hundred years, but few remain today. They were islands of idealism in an ocean of ruthless economic individualism. The high principles of the founders could but rarely be handed on to the second and third generations. As often as not, the founders had some peculiar religious ideas of their own which were rejected by their descendants. Not so with the *kibbutzim* : they are pragmatic in outlook. It is not even Judaism that is their mainspring but a whole series of motives and influences that happened to co-exist in the 1920's. When superimposed, they were found to have the force of a tidal wave.

The first motive was Jewish nationalism that eventually created the State of Israel. The *kibbutzim* were regarded as a means to the regeneration of Jewish character and, in fact, played a leading part in the struggle for national independence in Palestine.

The second motive was socialism. Most of the early *kibbutz* leaders came to Palestine from Eastern Europe after World War I. They were deeply impressed by the Russian Revolution and were often Marxist in outlook. But they were not Communist (there are Jewish Communists in Israel today) and, in fact, were detested by orthodox Communists in Russia and elsewhere for their "nationalist deviationism". Russia has its own communal villages the *kolkhoz*. But the *kibbutz* regards the *kolkhoz* as very inferior. The *kolkhoz* still allows the individual member to retain a few acres for his own private use, on which he may raise some cows, some chickens and some vegetables. In the *kibbutz*, this would never be allowed. Secondly, in the *kolkhoz*, each housewife cooks separately for her husband and children : in the *kibbutz*, all members eat together in a large communal dining-room, with a communal kitchen attached. Thirdly, in the *kolkhoz*, each member is paid in cash according to his individual output : in the *kibbutz*, there is no wage system at all. The nearest approach in Russia to the *kibbutz* is in *Sovkhoz*, the Russian state farms, while there are in Israel other types of villages, called the *Meshek Shitufi* (joint farms) resembling the *kolkhoz*. All these types spring from socialist ideals.

The third motive was the desire to transform the largely commercial community of Jews from Eastern Europe, into manual workers in Palestine. In Poland, it was the Poles who tilled the fields and manned the factories : Jews were shopkeepers, the middlemen. In Palestine, if they wanted a State of their own, they must learn to be tractor drivers and machine tool operators, working with their own hands.

Arising from this was the fourth motive, a "back to the land" movement among an urban Jewish population in Europe. For centuries, Jews were prohibited in many countries from owning land. Even when these restrictions were rescinded, Jews preferred to invest in movable rather than in immovable property, as they never knew when they might have to move in a hurry. Hence the desire to own land in Palestine, to live in the country, to live off their own farm products, became a real passion among many Jews.

It is not easy to uproot townsmen and turn them into peasants. But Jews in the *kibbutz* movement were largely immigrants (later, many Palestine-born children of town dwellers

joined the *kibbutz* youth movements): they were on the move anyhow; and it was no great hardship to them, on arriving from Europe at a Palestine port, to go a few miles further to a *kibbutz* in the country. The towns in Palestine in the 1920's had few amenities—by no means all houses had piped water or electric light; nor were there theatres, cinemas, orchestras and museums to make city life attractive.

Another influence was the poverty of the immigrants. If one man joining a *kibbutz* puts in ten pounds and another only puts in five, the first feels aggrieved. But if none has anything, all are equal.

The capital for establishing these 300 *kibbutzim* was largely public money, especially in the earlier years. The World Zionist Movement and the powerful General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine were behind the Jewish colonization projects in Palestine. Millions of pounds were poured in as settlement capital and long term loans. The land used by the *kibbutzim* remains public property and is leased to the *kibbutzim* at a moderate rental. Hence there is no chance of land speculation by the *kibbutzim*.

Among the influences that led to the success of the *kibbutz* movement is the fact that the early members were all young, mostly under thirty. They brought to the *kibbutz* not only idealism but a disdain of comfort. Living at first under canvas was no hardship; it merely exhilarated them. It was all a great adventure. That spirit still animates the children of the original *kibbutz* members who, as often as not, form their own groups and go off (as in the ancient Greek city states) to found new *kibbutzim* in the southern desert or on the frontiers.

Lastly, it must be remembered that most Jewish immigrants to Palestine came from typical nineteenth century large families. Arriving in ones and twos, they found in the *kibbutz* something of the warmth of life in the large family that they had known in their childhood. It was better to live in a *kibbutz* than as a factory worker in a poor room in a back street of some town.

All these motives and influences, combined together, made the *kibbutz* movement an outstanding success. Without them, or at least a combination of several of them, it is doubtful whether the *kibbutz* can be successfully transplanted

to other countries (although Burma now seems anxious to try). Even in Palestine, the *kibbutz* movement was not developed from a blue print : it started quite by accident in 1908, on a tract of land south of the Sea of Galilee. This land, owned by the Jewish National Fund, was being worked by a group of hired Jewish immigrant labourers, under a foreman. The foreman was hard : the labourers went on strike : the management threatened to stop cultivation. The labourers then offered to take over the farm collectively without a foreman. This was accepted, and thus was born the future village of Degania, the "mother" of all *kibbutzim* and of the *kibbutz* movement.

Collective cultivation, through sub-division of labour, specialization and mechanization, was found to have great economic advantages. Children's houses were established, not because of any Platonic theory of education, but because it was cheaper to keep the flies out of the window if only one house had to be screened. And there was less chance of typhoid and dysentery if a specially hygienic children's kitchen was established instead of having each child's food cooked by its mother. In a wild frontier country, where European farms were constantly exposed to Arab attack, the greater cohesion and discipline of the *kibbutz* was a great asset to the defence.

There are today three main federations of *kibbutzim* in Israel. Two of the federations consist of smaller villages—up to 500 souls : one federation is less Marxist in outlook : the other is more Marxist. The third federation is of the larger villages—up to 2,000 souls, where they do not believe that there is any need to limit the size of the community in order to secure the necessary social cohesion. The members of these large villages are drawn indiscriminately from the right and left wing socialist parties. Recent political events abroad caused so much dissension in the larger villages that many of them have, in fact, split in the last few years and have had to be reconstituted on a small and more homogeneous basis.

About half the population of any *kibbutz* is of working age : the other half consists of children and the over-aged. Of the working population, half again are engaged on production and the other half on services (kitchen, laundry, schools, etc.) Each *kibbutz* tries to put as many of its members as

possible into the front line of productive enterprise. All kinds of jobs, especially administrative jobs or committee work, are done in the spare time of working members. Nevertheless, each *kibbutz* producer supports three *kibbutz* non-producers. Each *kibbutz* on the whole produces enough surplus food for an equal number of town dwellers, which means that each *kibbutz* producer supplies food for seven others. Even so, this is only half of what each American farm worker produces—enough for sixteen other people: due, of course, to a much greater use of power-driven machinery in the United States.

The *kibbutz*, like most Jewish farming in Israel—apart from citrus growing—is based on mixed farming. The major source of income is usually the dairy, the cows being fed on fodder produced under irrigation, in the absence of adequate natural grazing throughout the year. Hence, most Jewish villages (and *kibbutzim*) are to be found on the plains where irrigation is possible, and not in the hills. Other branches are irrigated vegetables and orchards, poultry farming, and carp breeding in ponds. As a result of much scientific research and an advisory agricultural extension service, yields are high. Small factories, sometimes using local raw materials (fruit canning or brick making) have been set up in some *kibbutzim* which suffered in the past from land shortage. But the monotony of machine-winding does not make factory work popular with *kibbutz* members.

Most *kibbutz* products are sold through wholesale co-operatives: and most of the supplementary goods needed by the *kibbutz* (salt, tea, cloth, etc.) are bought through co-operatives. Much of the payment can thus be made through book credits and debits. Nevertheless, the *kibbutz* treasurer must keep a small cash reserve, for external use only.

Each *kibbutz* is governed by the General Meeting of all adult members, held usually on Friday evenings. Much of the actual administration is in the hands of elected standing committees: there are very few whole-time posts. Apart from the secretary-treasurer, there is the work allocator and, usually, the co-ordinator. These posts are filled by election once a year. The work is arduous; most members with experience much prefer to work in the fields instead, in their own speciality and have to be argued into accepting re-election.

They get no pay, of course, for these duties, and live like all other members.

Each branch of farming (the dairy, the poultry farm, etc.) as well as each service (the kitchen, the children's houses, etc.) has its own establishment of staff. The head of each branch and service is usually a permanent and experienced old-timer. He or she (the vegetable garden, poultry farm, kitchen and laundry are run by women) is assisted by a semi-permanent group who shift round between the branches every six months or so. Seasonal and daily fluctuations in the labour needs of each branch are met from a pool, usually of the younger members and new comers. The daily roster of work is made up each night by the work allocator, after consulting the head of branches, so that all members will know what work they will do the next day.

In order to see that the decisions of the General Meeting are carried out in full, most *kibbutzim* now have a whole-time co-ordinator. There is also one man in each *kibbutz* who deals with its external relations, including visitors. But this is not always a whole-time job.

The budget of the *kibbutz* is based on the needs calculated by each branch and service, based on past experience and approved by the relevant standing committee. The budget is not calculated in money but in work-days. The daily cost of maintaining a worker is also known ; so that, if a particular branch requires a thousand work-days through the year and the rural market value of its output is less than the cost of a thousand work-days, then it is clear that that branch is running at a loss. Some branches—such as wheat growing—are run deliberately at a loss—in order to allow each *kibbutz* to make its own bread rather than import cheap Australian flour.

As far as the production of good human beings is concerned, the *kibbutz* has proved to be an unqualified success. The typical *kibbutz* member is energetic, loyal, modest, well-disciplined and absolutely honest. Whenever particularly responsible and arduous job has to be done, either in Israel or abroad, the immediate reaction is to see if anyone suitable can be found in the *kibbutzim*. Most of the older *kibbutzim* have several of their more experienced men away on public duties—even as Cabinet Ministers. But the *kibbutzim* are very loth to let their best men go : they are in the farming

business, and always short of labour. Nowadays, the Israel Army has developed into a second source of "good chaps". Lucky is the country with even one source of able leaders and organizers : Israel, with two such sources, is indeed blessed.

"Democracy and efficiency can be made to work in harmony without weakening either. It is not an easy blend to make and there are many chances of failure. But if we allow our democratic mechanisms to fall into a state of disrepair, then people are likely to become impatient and apt to welcome a minority rule which they hope will improve the situation. Sincere believers in democracy may well come to confuse laxity and loose organization with a democratic environment. On the other hand, efficiency for efficiency's sake is a dangerous doctrine and may unwittingly lead a country toward minority rule and an unbearable regimentation."

—MARSHALL E. DIMOCK

(in *'Administrative Efficiency within
a Democratic Policy'*)

"One of the greatest barriers to clear understanding of objectives and methods by both officials and employees, and the citizen public, is the growing tendency of administrative officials to clothe their thoughts and directives in a specialized language....Is it an attempt to make administration sound mysterious, difficult, and complicated? Does it spring from the prevailing reverence attached to something termed "technical"? Do officials think they will dignify their status, perhaps securing higher civil service classifications, if they place an impenetrable veil of words over their work?...."

"Administration must stand on its own feet—and its feet, in fact its heart, brain, and blood, must be the aiding of understanding of ideas by employees within an agency and by the general public?.... One infallible precept toward accomplishing this end is the simplification, rather than the compounding, of the written and spoken word which is the main vehicle of administrative action."

—DONALD C. STONE

(in *'Washington-Field Relationships
in the Federal Service'*)

Accountability of Administration

N. V. Gadgil

AMONG the problems which are specific to a study of Public Administration the accountability of the Executive is not the least important. Administration does not operate in a vacuum. It acts as an agent for the fulfilment of public policy, or public will, formulated during elections and formally endorsed in Parliament—the highest legislative body in the country. It is necessary, therefore, that the public should be made aware of how this great agent or instrument of policy works in actual practice.

The administrator is accountable for his actions, and what is more important and what distinguishes his case from any other is that he is accountable, not to his conscience but to the public. This is a special feature of modern Government, and particularly of a Government in a democratic State. In Plato's Republic the administrators were visualized to be perfect gentlemen and were expected to be well-behaved, "gentle to their fellows and fierce to their enemy". Modern experience, however, is that the administrator, from whatever class and in whatever manner recruited, is subject to all the failings to which ordinary men are subject; and for that very reason the need to ensure his accountability has assumed greater importance. Theodore Roosevelt said: "If you give a man power to do right, you also give him the power to do wrong." That being so, institutions and conventions are being constantly framed to prevent wrong being done, or to redress it if done.

The problem of accountability in the modern State is becoming more and more complex, as the field of governmental activities widens and deepens. On account of the size of the modern State and the multiplicity of the functions it is expected to discharge, administration by amateurs is now virtually impossible. The modern State, in its process of functioning, divorces men who take the day-to-day decision, from the masses. Because of its complexity modern government can only be run by skilled people (or in other words, *professionals*), and modern administration has,

therefore, become essentially an administration in which the professional administrator has a dominating hand. Even in America where the "spoils system" was widely prevalent it had to give way, more and more, to a system where a class of professional administrators has been reared up. Jackson's "rotation of office" is no longer valid except in a very small sphere of administration. In Soviet Russia, too, where once it was believed that any ordinary citizen was quite capable of becoming a Civil Servant, a bureaucracy has grown up; and bureaucracy means *expertise*, compliance with traditional methods and standardization. Representative Government and bureaucracy are thus the two institutions which have coped with the challenges which the modern State with its size and complexity has thrown up.

II

In representative democracy, the duties of the Civil Servants are derived from a formal expression of public will, namely, law. The Civil Servant is expected to do everything according to law, and with reference to law or any order that is promulgated under the law. Accountability is, therefore, specifically towards those who formulate the public will or law, or those who interpret the law, that is, the Parliament or the judiciary.

By insisting on a strict legality, you may keep the Civil Servant up to the mark, but also down to the mark. The position of a Civil Servant in this background is very peculiar. His slackness is punishable no less than his zeal. Legality and initiative do not normally go together. During the last fifty years, wherever democracy has functioned, it has been found that the Civil Servant has always been accused either of lack of zeal, initiative and imagination on the one hand, or has been labelled as arbitrary, illegal, interfering, on the other. Yet, the Civil Servant has shown zeal and initiative in a measure which one could not consider to be meagre or inconsequential.

When one says that the Civil Servant is responsible to Parliament, it really means, where parliamentary democracy functions, that the Minister, or for the matter of fact the Cabinet as a whole is responsible to Parliament. In the Central Government in India, there are forty Ministers of different status and powers and over two million officials at all grades. Theoretically the Cabinet is responsible for

whatever is done by any one of these two million officials in their official capacity, however lowly-placed he may be, but Parliament shows great discrimination and normally acts with a sense of reality. Since the Minister has to face the fire in the House, and since he is briefed by the officials of his Ministry, it is natural for the administration to play safe at all costs. The result is prolonged consultation and diffusion of responsibility. There is an insistence on everything being put in writing. Precedents play a large part in arriving at any decision. Routine, red-tape and long noting take the place of initiative, ingenuity and innovation. The stricter the accountability, the tighter becomes the routine. It is often said that public accountability of the Civil Servant tempers administrative efficiency, either by subjecting it to a detailed parliamentary supervision, or to legalistic interpretation in courts. As governmental activities widen and new services are undertaken by the State, a measure of spontaneity and initiative is required of the administrators. These qualities are discouraged by a rigid control or a too strict accountability.

Such a state of affairs is bad enough for ordinary administration; it would be disastrous for the efficient running of Government's commercial and industrial enterprises. As a partial solution, the form of independent boards or autonomous corporations has been evolved. The Industrial Finance Corporation, Damodar Valley Corporation and Sindri Fertilizers Factory are instances in point. The creation of independent boards or corporations, or registered joint stock companies, etc., to run public enterprises has, however, created certain new problems, although it has solved the problem of operational flexibility. So far as the day-to-day administration of these bodies is concerned, the accountability to Parliament is less than in the case of the administrative departments. The Minister is responsible only for policy matters with respect to these bodies; but, the fact remains, as has been proved on several occasions, that he has to answer for any major mistake in the management or any substantial failure in the implementation of any of these projects or schemes. To some extent the Parliamentary control, and therefore the accountability, has thus diminished but it does not mean that the administration, which is thus separated from the normal central administration, is irresponsible and not accountable to the public. In England,

in order to make such bodies more responsive to the public opinion in matters in which Parliament is not taking detailed interest, advisory councils of consumers have also been set up.

III

Parliament's control of administration is, for the most part, a general control of policy; and rarely does Parliament go into details of any question, unless the irregularity is gross, or failure is monumental. In a parliamentary democracy, the majority party forms the Government, and it is very rare for a majority party Government to be defeated in Parliament itself: though it may be defeated at the next general election. It is natural, therefore, that the degree of the control over administration which Parliament will exercise would vary with the political ideology and programme of the party that has secured the majority of seats during the general election. Government is sustained by the support of the party which has put it into power. If at any time, awkward situations arise, they may create a storm for the time being; but the instinct of self-preservation proves more powerful, and whatever be the faults of the Government, the party supports it none the less. Very seldom does an issue assume such great importance as to justify an appeal to the country by ordering a fresh election. Yet, it may be said that there is always the possibility of any petty case of personal maladministration carrying in it enormous potential danger. That being so, the control by Parliament is also influenced by the extent to which public opinion outside becomes hostile to the Cabinet's policy or administration; and its effectiveness depends upon the measure of anxiety entertained by the party in power about next general election. Bearing the above limitations in mind, one can say that the nature of parliamentary control ranges from broad departmental policy to minute particular items. The Opposition whose parliamentary role is to oppose, never fails to challenge any item as it arises or is dug up by its persistency, very often by its perversity, but on all occasions by its patience—qualities which any political party must display not merely for its success but even for its sustenance. Some questions, therefore, are asked again and again, some points are repeatedly raised and though the House does not always know the truth, it "invariably knows the liar",

IV

The forms of control in various democratic legislatures differ according to historical context and traditions, but it may be said that whatever be the nature of forms the spirit behind them is more or less the same : it is universal. The modern trend is to delegate more and more power to the Executive. In fact, the modern Parliament is in a way a body which lays down general principles and leaves the rest of the job to the Executive of the day. This is not necessarily a "New despotism", but this development is inevitable because of the complex nature of the modern Government and because the field of governmental activities is constantly expanding.

The forms of control are necessarily related to the amount of time that is available to Parliament. In India, Parliament now sits nearly seven months in a year apart from the meetings of Select Committees which are very often held during the inter-session periods. The new budget procedure gives ample opportunity for Parliament to exercise financial control and a tradition has grown up in this country to allow more time to the Opposition than is justified by its numerical strength. It would be interesting to note that in the present *Lok Sabha* (House of the People) the Opposition constitutes about 25 per cent of the membership, but receives about 40% of the parliamentary time. The Opposition does not merely make the best use of the time reserved for private members : it often uses the Government's time for its own purposes.

The occasions for exercising parliamentary control and for criticising the administration are many and varied. First, every new session of Parliament opens with a speech from the President. The President's address embodies major policies of the Government, and four days are normally allowed for discussion on it. This debate on the President's address provides full opportunity for the Opposition to criticise the Government policies mentioned or implied in the address and opportunity is also taken to criticise the entire field of administration generally. Again, the general discussion on the Budget, voting on grants and the annual Finance Bill provide immense opportunity for general as well as detailed criticism of the administration. Financial control is exercised through the discussions on budget estimates, financial proposals of the year, and the report of the

Comptroller and Auditor-General. The latter audits all Government accounts to ensure that the money appropriated has been properly spent. His independence from the Executive has been expressly safeguarded by the Constitution. The Public Accounts Committee scrutinizing the Audit Report, exercises an amount of detailed control which cannot be lightly brushed aside. It is true that it is a sort of *ex post facto* control, but the way in which the Public Accounts Committee has functioned in this country during the last three years justifies the statement that the control is none the less effective. Over and above this, since the present Constitution came into operation, the Estimates Committee has started functioning. It is a standing committee of Parliament and has a definite procedure. It selects periodically a particular department, goes into its working in details and makes its report to the House. The experience of the Committee also justifies the belief that the control it exercises is very substantial. Indeed, those who have been subjected to this control have sometimes considered it excessive.

Another form of control is the system of interpellations—oral questions for which the first hour of every parliamentary day is reserved. On an average some 30 questions are orally asked and answered every day. The many supplementary questions asked are always in the nature of a cross-examination, and it is often an ordeal for the Minister to answer them. It is not always that questions are asked with a view to seeking information, which should be their primary object; they are often used to hold the Government to ridicule. Though, on occasions, the questions are obviously trivial, a useful purpose is served by all questions, trivial or important, because they bring to the public attention different phases of administrative policy or activity and keep the administration up to the standard.

The effect of questions on Government departments is tremendous. "Anybody who has worked in a Civil Service Department", said Hugh Gaitskell, "would agree with me that, if there is one major thing which leads Civil Servants to be excessively cautious, timid and careful and to keep records which outside the Civil Service would be regarded as unnecessary, it is the fear of the parliamentary questions." No officer is more concerned with any other form of parliamentary control than the question and nothing makes him more anxious than what his Minister would do while

replying to supplementaries. The instrument of questioning is flexible, quick, and strong enough to discredit the Ministry and the Minister, though sometimes it may go further and finish off the Minister concerned. If the member who has put the question is not satisfied with the reply, he can now ask for a special half-hour to be allotted for discussing the matter.

Apart from the forms of control described above, the old and time-honoured right to raise a discussion on any specific question of urgent nature and of public importance by moving an adjournment, is still there. During the three years and a half of the present Parliament's life, no such discussion has taken place. The Speaker has naturally to be strict in deciding whether the subject-matter is indeed so urgent and of such importance as to justify a motion for adjournment; but he very often allows the member concerned to table a "short-notice" question to enable him to elicit the facts directly or through supplementary questions.

A related provision is that a matter of urgent public importance can be raised in a two hours' debate which, however, is essentially different from the debate on an adjournment motion. In the former there is a discussion and no voting; in the latter there is a discussion followed by a voting.

A censure motion, or a "no confidence motion", is still another form of control which is provided for by the Constitution itself. It has not, however, been resorted to during the life time of the present Parliament. The vote of censure, if properly submitted, cannot be declined, and the Speaker will have to put it down for discussion.

In brief, by question and debate, administration is kept under constant and continuous review. The most trivial detail may be fraught with enormous consequence as the Opposition utilizes its whole time in spotting the Executive's weak points, and once it catches them, it has boundless opportunities to hammer them constantly. The Opposition's strategy is not so much to sway votes in the division lobbies because that is well-nigh impossible, but to educate and convert public opinion in its favour for winning the next general election. In the House, the floor is used as a forum not for the immediate hearers but for the vast audience outside the House.

VI

It has been mentioned that owing to the size and complexity of the modern State, the legislature can legislate only in a general way, and it has to delegate considerable sub-legislative powers to the Executive of the day. In order to keep control of Parliament over matters delegated to the Executive and to make it accountable to Parliament, a Committee is usually appointed to scrutinize such delegated legislation. The task of this Committee is to go through the rules and regulations that may have been framed by the Executive in pursuance of the parent Act and to report to Parliament from time to time as to how the Executive has used its powers. Just as the Estimates Committee makes certain recommendations which not only act as checks but also provide guidance to Parliament, so do the reports of the Committee on delegated legislation. At the same time it must be stated that any interference by any Committee in the day-to-day administration is undesirable. Such interference, whether by the Estimates Committee or by any other Committee, may mean that the administration will avoid taking any risk and may develop even a sense of helplessness. There will be a loss of initiative and sense of direction. The Executive must be allowed to function with adequate confidence. It must take calculated risks and must be responsible for current administration and should not be in a position to plead excuses because of the constant interference and directions from some Committee.

In India, the problem of delegated legislation has not assumed the same size and importance as in the United Kingdom, where it is being argued that the existing provisions for supervising delegated legislation are insufficient. There is no uniform practice with India in regard to provision in the parent Acts to bring rules and regulations before Parliament. In certain cases rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House for information only. In certain other cases, rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House for periods varying from 14 days to two months, and they become effective as soon as that period is over. During that period it is open to the House to amend, alter or reject them. There is a third procedure in certain other countries : the rules and regulations are laid on the table of the House and become operative only when a resolution to that effect has been passed by Parliament or the House concerned.

It is obvious that there cannot be a uniform procedure in all matters. If the matters are very urgent, the rules must be effective immediately on their promulgation. If the matter can admit of delay, then it may be good to make them operative after the statutory period is over with amendments, if any. The third procedure, that of having a positive resolution passed has not much to recommend itself because in that case there will be endless discussion and the very object of saving the time of the House over details is defeated.

VII

In the application of the rules and regulations to specific cases, the Executive often assumes a quasi-judicial role. How far rules of judicial procedure and interpretation should be applicable in these matters is a knotty problem. The Executive obviously wants things to be done quickly and is not very much enamoured of the niceties of law. This has led many critics to oppose all delegated legislation and to insist that Parliament should have full control even in matters of detail. The language of the rules and regulations is said to be never lucid—often its opacity is evident; and the lawyers do not like the exclusion of the courts in the matter of applying rules and regulations and their interpretation.

The Civil Service—to repeat—is an instrument to carry out the public will expressed by Parliament in the form of law. The actions of the Civil Servants are, therefore, scrutinized in Parliament by the various means detailed above. Since Parliament makes the law, it certainly holds the authority to enquire whether what is done by the administration is according to that law. At the same time it is often a difficult proposition to know what the law exactly means and it is an axiom in political science that it is the business of the courts to interpret the law. In this view, the administration is also accountable to courts.

To begin with, the courts which have the power to pronounce upon the constitutional *validity* of the parent Act itself, also have the power to pronounce upon the *validity* of any rule or regulation made under that Act. A citizen who feels that any provision made by the Executive is in excess of its rule-making power or infringes his fundamental rights beyond the limits permitted under the Constitution, can seek and receive redress from the courts. The citizen

who feels aggrieved can also go to a court, to plead that the obligations laid on the Civil Servant by the law have not been carried out, and seek relief, though in such a case the courts will, ordinarily, decline to interfere because what the Civil Servant has done is evidently an executive act in regard to which a wide discretion is allowed to the administrator. There may be an action of a different kind where the plaintiff may plead that the administrator has acted *ultra vires* or without authority. In such cases the courts will interfere if what is purported to have been done by the administrator is outside the scope of his authority.

There are also many laws in which power is given to the various executive officers, which is not merely executive but also quasi-judicial. In these cases, the court will interfere only if it is satisfied that the rules of procedure, as they may be, have not been followed. A purely executive act might in certain circumstances be *ultra vires* because of its scope, or it may be *ultra vires* because of its form. But the courts will not normally interfere in matters which are purely executive and may interfere in matters which are of quasi-judicial nature, only if correct procedure is not followed. In short, whether the action of the administration is *desirable* or not, is not open for judicial review; but whether the administrator was *competent* to take that action and whether in doing so he *followed the prescribed procedures*, are certainly matters in which the court can interfere.

Boards and Tribunals are often created under the statutory rules and regulations for the purpose of deciding certain intricate questions that may arise during the administration of purposes and schemes to which the statute relates. It is expected that these Boards or Tribunals would decide fairly and impartially. Certain standard procedure is expected to be complied with. A party must be given a fair chance to be heard in its defence. It is also reasonable to expect that the power of the Board or Tribunal will not be improperly used. It does not, however, mean that the Boards or Tribunals should follow the same procedure as is followed in the law courts, but it is expected that their decisions must be given with a due sense of responsibility and consistently with canons of natural justice. When such Tribunals exercise their discretion, courts will not interfere and will not substitute their judgment for the judgment of the Boards and Tribunals concerned. To sum up, the courts will review all cases for

which specific provision is made in the statute itself. Apart from this, courts will interfere only when there is exercise of power which is evidently *ultra vires*. Where the actions complained were inconsistent with the purpose and where discretion is used in a manner which is abhorrent to their sense of natural justice, the courts will and do interfere.

VIII

The above is a brief account of how the administration in India is made accountable. It describes the main forms of parliamentary and judicial control over administration, as also the influence of other factors such as the political ideology of the party in power and the pattern of party structure. In the last analysis, the ultimate sanction for the accountability of administration to the people lies in the democratic *mores* and traditions of a country—matters which lie outside the scope of the study of public administration proper.

Our recent experience with the implementation of welfare and development projects proves beyond doubt that the accountability of the administration to the Parliament and the people is real and solid. There is growing realisation on the part of administration that it must function as a servant of the people. There is also a move on the part of administrative departments to institute O & M surveys in order both to improve the efficiency of their working and to show greater regard for the interests and convenience of their masters and clients—the people. Parliament, too, has shown an increasing consciousness of the administrative implications of speeding up the development of the country. It has willingly delegated more and more authority to the Executive, devoting its attention at the same time to devising new ways and methods for reconciling the increasing devolution of authority with the need for greater accountability.

“Government is man’s unending adventure. It is his heaviest collective and individual burden. Yet it is his supreme hope of liberation from individual feebleness.”

—HERMAN FINER
(in *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*)

Principles of Selection in Public Services

R. C. Dutt

AT the transfer of power in India we inherited an administrative structure, well conceived and organised, but considerably depleted in personnel, and essentially trained for restricted objectives. A twofold problem, therefore, presented itself. The first problem was to fill in the gaps partly by promotion from within, and partly by fresh recruitment. The second was to attune the Services to the new tasks allotted to them, and to re-orientate their attitude to fit in with the new objectives. The first was mainly a problem of selection, while the second that of training. The former, however, had to take due note of the latter. Selection is not an abstract process. It has significance only when it is related to certain qualities which it seeks to find. The object of selection is not to find persons who are efficient in an absolute sense but to select men and women who, in the surroundings in which they have to function and in accordance with the objectives in view, can carry out their assigned tasks most efficiently.

Independence brought in its trail administrative problems of a magnitude not encountered before. The problem of law and order which immediately followed the attainment of independence, that of mass migration of displaced persons, the food problem and a score of other problems of adjustment had to be tackled with the available administrative machinery and personnel. Shortage in personnel had to be made good by selections both from the lower grades and from outside. The administration managed to successfully survive the trial and even undertake a measure of welfare and development activities. The First Five Year Plan was launched in 1951. This was a new experience for the administration. It involved not only an expansion of the administrative machinery but its incursion into fields hitherto unexplored. New problems of selection arose. Organisations had to be devised and personnel found for the new tasks.

The First Five Year Plan is now drawing to a close, and a Second Plan, bolder in outlook and more thorough in

comprehension than the First, is gradually emerging. The details of the Second Plan are yet to be worked out, but one thing is obvious. It will require an expansion of personnel on a larger scale than the First Plan. It is equally obvious that on the manner in which this expansion takes place the success or otherwise of the Plan would depend. Selection of personnel will, therefore, play a more important part than ever before. In dealing with this problem of selection for the Second Plan there is, however, one advantage : that of experience. The period of survival from 1947 to 1951 and that of the First Plan 1951-56 have underlined the urgent need for proper selection and also helped us to develop the methods best suited for it. On the basis of this experience, the principles of selection, particularly in the matter of promotion are being evolved. Should promotion in service depend on what is regarded as merit, or, should it depend on the more easily ascertainable factor of seniority? Or, should both these factors be combined in some given proportion to determine promotions from grade to grade? These are the questions that this article seeks to examine.

Promotion in our public services derives its importance from two main sources : (1) Promotion to higher grades determines the type of officers available for posts of responsibility in these grades; and (2) it has a direct effect on the morale of the lower grades, which, in turn, affects their efficiency.

These two factors, though not conflicting, often point in two different directions. The principle of selective promotion can, therefore, be evolved only by balancing all the considerations arising therefrom. From the point of view of the taxpayer, it is essential that only the best are promoted to the highest posts. Any deviation from this involves loss of efficiency, and is, therefore, contrary to public interest. Two basic questions, however, arise : "Who is the best? On what criteria can the best be selected?" To the extent that these questions are not satisfactorily answered, or are not answered in a manner that is generally acknowledged as satisfactory, the second of the two factors mentioned above assumes importance. Nothing is more damaging to the morale of an officer than the feeling that he has been superseded for promotion to a higher post by a person who cannot be regarded as superior to him in merit. An officer superseded even once develops a feeling of frustration; one superseded

repeatedly does so to the extent that his own usefulness to the State is reduced rapidly. This feeling of frustration is intensified by the normal psychological fact that few men are capable of so objective a self-assessment as to admit the superior merit of others. Where the difference is so pronounced as to make its denial absurd, the fact may perhaps be admitted, but the personal ego present in greater or less degree in almost all human beings militates against such admission except in the most extreme cases.

In any scheme of selection on merit, therefore, it is necessary to ensure not only that selections are made as objectively as possible but that the method of selection is such as to be generally regarded as objective and above suspicion. It is not easy to ensure either of these, for the assessment of merit on which selection is based cannot be divorced entirely from the subjective judgment of the person or persons who assess the merit.

Various methods have from time to time been considered and tried to make the process of selection as objective as possible. These may be classified broadly into two groups : The first relates to the materials on which the judgment is to be based, and the second to the selection of the person or persons called upon to form the judgment.

The materials most commonly used to form the basis of selection are :

- (i) the periodic assessment of character and performance recorded in the form of confidential reports;
- (ii) the impressions gathered in a direct interview to test personality; and
- (iii) a written test designed to judge ability to perform the duties allotted.

Each of these methods used to collect evidence of the suitability or otherwise has its limitations; but the evidence so gathered, used discriminately and in combination, can form the basis of reliable judgment.

The periodic recorded assessments of the work done, taken over a fairly long period of time, present as good a picture of the capacity and even personality of a person as any that can be obtained. Such assessments do, as indeed

they must, reflect the varying personalities of the recording officers. A number of them taken together, however, tend to cancel out these variations, and give a picture which is not far from the correct one. But for such a picture to emerge, it is necessary that the assessments should be carefully recorded, and follow a pattern deliberately set to elicit the essential information. This can be ensured by carefully designed forms of confidential reports.

While the resulting picture can be regarded as a sufficient likeness of the person concerned, it is still too rough to permit precise and reliable comparisons between different candidates of about equal merit. For fine shades of distinction the pictures so drawn are not helpful. It is perhaps for this reason that in the United States a system of merit rating by allotment of marks has been evolved. Under this system the desirable qualities are listed and maximum marks assigned to each. Every candidate is then considered for each of these qualities and marked. The final grade of merit is determined on the basis of the total marks obtained. The system, however, aims at scientific precision in a matter of judgment which being essentially subjective is not capable of such precise analysis. The danger of the system lies in the false appearance of precision that it creates. Merit rating in the form of marks conceals the basis of the judgment, and thus prevents comparative evaluation of the assessments made by different authorities with different yardsticks. To this extent it is a less reliable guide for comparative purposes than assessments of merit in narrative form.

The interview as a method of selection has a distinct advantage. It is the only method which enables the selector to assess directly the personality of the candidate. The assessments in the form of periodic reports, if carefully drawn up, can help in this direction but they can at best provide a second-hand picture. The direct impression created by an interview, on the other hand, gives reality to the picture and helps in forming a truer assessment. The interview system, nevertheless, has the disadvantage that appearances can frequently be made to pass for reality. Human personality is a complex phenomenon hardly capable of being analysed in course of an interview, which, however elaborate, must necessarily be brief. A dominating trait, though superficial, may easily be mistaken for an essential quality. It needs experienced and trained interviewers to isolate the substance

from the appearance; but provided such interviewers are available, interview can be a very useful supplement to other methods of selection. It is unnecessary here to go into the various elaborations of the system of interview which have been devised in an attempt to make it an infallible method of selection. Psychiatric tests and the "house party" system are some of these devices. They cannot, however, be used in the day-to-day administration for selection of service personnel. Nor are they really necessary, so long as interview is regarded not as the sole but only one of the methods of selection.

Finally, there is the method of selection by written tests. Such tests do have their usefulness, but only in restricted spheres. Where the duties of an officer are comparatively well-defined and capable of simple tests, written examinations can certainly help in the selection. Such examinations can test (a) the ability to perform certain given tasks e.g. precis-writing, noting, etc.; (b) knowledge of facts and rules; and (c) mental alertness and originality in thought. The last does indeed form the basic requirement for all responsible positions, but no system of examination yet devised can conclusively indicate anything more than the quality of the basic human material available. The basic material has to be trained and moulded for higher responsibilities. The result of such a process of moulding is not entirely predictable, and no system of examination can vouch for the finished product. Nevertheless, within its limitation, written examinations do constitute a useful method of selection.

The problem of "selecting the selectors" is also an important one. Certain principles in this respect can be said to have received general acceptance. The first is that group judgment is preferable to individual judgment. The truth of this principle is obvious. The second is that the group of selectors should as far as possible include persons independent of and detached from the organisation or office for which the selection is being made so that an objective view of comparative merit of the candidates can be taken. The group should also include persons familiar with the nature of work expected of the candidates selected so that the assessment of merit can be made on the basis of job requirements. Last of all, it need hardly be mentioned that persons who, on grounds of relationship, friendship or for other reasons, are likely to develop bias for or even against particular candidates,

should take no part in their selection. In fact, it is not only necessary that selection should be objective but also that it should be demonstrably so. The possibility of bias, even if there is none in reality, should be regarded as sufficient to exclude a "selector" from the process of selection.

With all possible precautions to ensure objectivity, assessment of merit remains essentially a matter of subjective judgment, not capable of being fully determined by objective yardsticks. Relative assessments of the same group of persons made by two different authorities both functioning under similar conditions and adopting the same methods are likely to differ. They are also likely to differ even when made by the same selector but at two different points of time. It would be imprudent therefore to rely solely on what is regarded as merit in the matter of selection.

That does not mean that selection on merit should be abandoned, and promotions made on the rigid formula of seniority or length of service. Length of service as representing experience determines to some extent the usefulness of a person to the State. It is one of the factors which determines merit itself. It also happens to be a factor assessable objectively and intelligible to everybody. Promotion by seniority is, therefore, a "safe" method which is likely to cause the least resentment. It, however, provides no incentive for work of merit, nor does it ensure that posts requiring initiative and imagination of a high order are in fact held by persons having these qualities. A rigid adherence to a seniority formula would, therefore, deprive the taxpayer of the quality of service to which he is entitled, and in the last analysis prove to be expensive. A progressive State committed to a dynamic development administration can ill afford to do without the services of the best available persons. It cannot remain content with mediocrities in pursuance of a "safe" system of promotion by seniority.

A judicious combination of seniority and merit with emphasis on the latter is, therefore, what is required. In all organisations, employees can be divided broadly into three groups : (a) a small group of really outstanding persons; (b) a sizable group of persons well below the average; and (c) a comparatively large group of persons who are neither outstanding nor unfit, consisting of men and women of various shades of ability. There is no difficulty in any reasonably

sound system of merit selection about locating persons in groups (a) and (b). Outstanding persons are readily recognised as such and their advancement out of turn should cause no general resentment. Persons well below average are also easily recognisable and no arguments need arise if such persons are superseded. Difficulty arises mostly about the intermediate category, *i.e.* group (c) which comprises the largest number of employees. It is in assessing their relative merit that all the ingenuity in the process of selection is required.

The combination of merit and seniority in the matter of selection for promotion can best be expressed in the formula that such promotion should be made on the basis "merit with due regard to seniority". A practical application of this formula, which has in fact been adopted in certain cases, would be as follows :

The first requisite is to define the field of choice from which the selection is to be made. This may be done by determining the number to be considered as a multiple of the number to be selected. If, for instance, ten persons are to be selected for promotion, the selecting authority may decide to consider thirty. The exact multiple to be taken is, of course, a matter to be decided in each case. The larger the multiple, however, the greater is the emphasis on merit and less on seniority. Alternatively, the field for selection may be decided by prescribing a minimum seniority standard. An example of this is provided in the Indian Administrative Service (Promotion) Regulations which restrict consideration of State Civil Service officers, for promotion to the I.A.S., to those who have at least eight years' service in the former.

Having decided the field of choice and thus limited the possible range of supersession, the next step is to make the actual selection on merit by one or other of the processes referred to earlier, or by a combination of one or more of them. Such a process of selection would naturally eliminate those in the field of choice who do not "make the grade" for which the selection is being made.

Finally, the persons who do "make the grade" have to be arranged so as to give the order in which appointments to the higher grade can be made as vacancies arise. Here again, it is necessary to blend merit with seniority. A procedure frequently adopted is to arrange the names of those

selected in the order of their seniority. Less senior persons of outstanding merit are, however, placed above their seniors as a deliberate act of selection and recognition of superior merit. Another variation of this method is to group the persons selected into broad categories of merit with suitable distinguishing titles, e.g. "Outstanding", "Very Good", "Good", "Fair", etc. All persons in one group are placed above all others in the next lower group; but within each group, seniority prevails.

The principles discussed and the procedure described above represent the present trend of thought and practice in the Government of India. They form, for instance, the basis of the Promotion Regulations both for the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. The procedure has also been adopted for promotions from grade to grade in the Central Secretariat Service, and a proposal is under consideration for formally adopting the principles of selection mentioned for all appointments to "Selection posts". Further experience may lead to refinement of the procedure adopted, or even to a redefinition of the principles in some of their details; but it can well be claimed that in their general application the procedure outlined is perhaps as sound as could possibly be devised from the point of view both of efficiency of the Services and the morale of the personnel.

"By and large, those who do not normally and consistently feel a great interest in government will not be good prospects. In general, the more they have succeeded in non-governmental fields, the more they have developed interests and habits of thought that will unfit them for government. Obviously the more delicate and difficult distinctions have to do with upper-bracket positions. There, surely, patriotism, zeal, and intelligence could never be enough—any more than they could be accepted as adequate criteria in selecting candidates for the bench from the ranks of the bar, or in selecting army generals from non-military ranks."

—PAUL APPLEBY
(in 'Big Democracy')

Democratisation in Administration

R. K. Patil

IT is a generally accepted proposition that the transition from a law and order administration, as it substantially was in the pre-war period in India, to a welfare administration as it is progressively bound to be in the post-independence period, must be accompanied by a democratisation of the administrative machinery. I propose to analyse the implications of such democratisation with reference to the impact of the administrative machinery, particularly at the village level.

Democratisation can have two aspects: First, official action at the village level can be taken with the full knowledge, though not necessarily the concurrence, of the village people. The *Patwari* (village accountant) can write his village documents and exhibit them to the people either in the *Panchayat* (village council) or village *Chaodi* (police post) or any other public place in the village. He may also indicate to the village people, specially called for the purpose, all the changes that he has effected from the last year. This will help to remove the present feeling that his papers are a sealed book to the villagers, and he is thus in a position to incite quarrels and rival claims in the village. Similarly, in estimating crops he could take the village people into confidence so that they know the basis of his estimates. That will allay the existing misgivings about his over-estimating the crops, and further help to associate people with the Government's methods of crop estimation. This aspect of democratisation may be termed as "association of the villagers with official action". The intention is to educate people with the why and how of Governmental working. Under this new concept the official will act as before, independently on his own authority, but will take the people into confidence when he acts.

The second stage of democratisation would be when the official is dependent for his action on the prior concurrence of the village authority. In the instances given earlier the *Patwari* would not, at the second stage, be able to finalise

his papers or his estimates of crop yields unless the village council accepts his findings. This would not necessarily bring the *Patwari* under the administrative control of the village body, but would none the less involve some sort of subordination to it.

Any one of the above two reforms may precede the other; even both may be effected simultaneously. It is, however, very necessary that the first step is taken immediately.

If, after seven years of independence the public are not yet feeling the change in administration, it is because by and large we have failed to take this step. I can at least say so for the State of Madhya Pradesh. The result is that complaints of harassment, petty exactions, failure to render service to the people are somewhat common. These can only be removed if the village body monitors the relationship between the average individual villager and the petty official who comes in contact with him. That is, the individual villager should be able to approach the village *Panchayat* or other village body, and lodge his complaint before it. The latter should have powers to call the official complained against, hear him, and send its findings to his immediate superior. These findings, at the present stage, need not be binding on the superior officer who should be free to make such further enquiries as he thinks necessary. But unless authority is conferred on the village body to enquire into individual complaints of villagers, it is difficult to see how else these complaints can be remedied. Experience has shown that departmental enquiries are so cumbrous and infructuous that they deter villagers from making complaints. And, if at all a complaint is made, the danger of the petty official taking revenge on the complainant is very real. All these drawbacks could be removed if a village body would be interposed between the petty official and the individual villager.

This, indeed, would be the logical consequence of the first step, *i.e.* associating the people with the village administration. The objection that is frequently taken to such a course is that it will 'weaken' the administration. It is really difficult to understand this expression of doubt in a democratic framework of Government. In an autocracy or bureaucracy, where things have got to be executed through the 'prestige' of the administration, a 'fear complex' has a

certain part to play in Government's relations with the people. But in a democracy it is absolutely out of place. As another aspect of the alleged 'weakening', a fear is voiced that the petty officials would cease to perform their legitimate functions out of fear of the village body. It is said that if a forest guard has to appear before the village body he would hesitate to report forest offences, and this will lead to a deterioration of forests by encouraging illicit fellings. A *Patwari*, for the same reason, may not report encroachments or defaulters. I consider such an argument as wholly illusory. For, what is it that actuates a forest guard to report forest offences, or a *Patwari* to report encroachments? If it is a sense of duty, it will always work whether a village body is interposed or not. If it is the fear of detection and consequent punishment by the department, that fear can still exist, and is dependent on the degree of 'supervision' exercised by the department. The interposition of a village body should not make any difference. Efficiency of administration depends on the supervision exercised over subordinate officials, and this is not likely to be affected by the reform suggested. It is, therefore, difficult to see how administration could be weakened even in this respect.

Under the new developmental set-up, village bodies are being constituted in every village. In those villages where duly constituted *Panchayats* exist, they could be entrusted with the task of promoting better relations between the villagers and the officials. Village bodies can always be associated with most of the administrative and developmental activities, e.g. preparation of village records, crop estimates, grazing lists; reporting of births and deaths; obtaining of various supplies like credit, seeds, and manures for increasing production; allotment of waste lands; crop competitions; etc. The association of the village *Panchayat* should also be possible in those cases where individual villagers claim relief by applying to officials. While applications for relief may be made to the officials direct, a copy should also be endorsed to the village body so that it can follow it up and thus reduce the chances of invidious contacts between the officials and the villagers. Officials should also utilise these bodies for making spot enquiries and obtaining other information from villagers, which they do today through the agency of individual village officers like *Patels* and *Patwaris*.

Two tendencies which do indicate some 'weakness' and a somewhat unfavourable effect of popular association may be noticed. It is a common complaint that police cases are failing because witnesses can be got at. In the past, it was not so, partly because of the prestige of the police and the convicting tendency of magistrates. Now good cases also fail as witnesses turn hostile. The alleged failure of the system of jurors and assessors is also pointed out as a failure of public association with the administration.

If police cases fail, the failure must be due to (1) fear of giving evidence lest the accused might wreak vengeance later; or (2) a desire not to cause harm to the accused by giving evidence; or (3) deliberate false testimony resulting from the acceptance of illegal gratification or other bad motive. In respect of (1), it is for the police to generate sufficient confidence amongst people who come forward to assist them. If the people tend to keep back for fear of ruffians or *goondas*, the fault lies perhaps more with the police than with the people. Causes (2) and (3) can only be mitigated by better education. But, it might be argued, that police cases were successful in the past without the necessity of better education and to the extent that they fail now there is a distinct 'weakening' of the administration. I think something like this is inevitable in the process of democratisation of the administration. What is required is not merely results, but results occurring from a proper motivation on the part of the villagers. Learning from experience and education alone can be the right basis for correct motivation of the villagers, and unless the fear complex is removed, voluntary efforts for self-development would not be possible—not at least in the measure required.

As regards the system of jurors and assessors, if that system has really failed, it is hardly likely that our institutions of *Nyaya Panchayats** would be a success. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that, though there have been some drawbacks in the working of the *Nyaya Panchayats*, the system has already worked well and the drawbacks are being progressively repaired. It is difficult to understand therefore why the system of jurors and assessors should have failed, and if it has, the fault must be found elsewhere than in the proposition that the system is not suited

* village councils exercising judicial powers

to our conditions. If trials are held in or near the village of occurrence and local people are appointed as assessors or jurors, the whole trial would not only have an educative aspect but will also help to bring to light the irresponsibilities on the part of jurors and assessors. In fact, what holds good for witnesses on the police side also holds good for the shortcomings of jurors and assessors. It is almost impossible for any witness to give false evidence in the presence of his co-villagers.

Finally, there is one more question. Democratisation of administration in a country governed for so many years by the bureaucratic rule, must necessarily be a slow process. The complaint is not about the speed; the complaint is about the complete absence of any steps to bring about the change. Progress is also impeded by the general assumption that any steps that we take in this direction must cover the State as a whole and there is no scope for trial or experimentation of new ideas in small areas of the State. This is fundamentally a wrong assumption. We could safely experiment with the new ideas in a small area, assess their results and then extend their application. The idea of entrusting village bodies with the duty of collecting land revenue has been mooted, and advocated as sound, but its implementation is not being undertaken for fear of our whole revenue system being thrown in jeopardy. Could not we, to begin with, experiment with a few well-developed *Panchayats* and see the result of their working? In a similar way, cannot we try, over a limited field, the proposals for democratisation discussed earlier in this article and watch the results? It would be interesting to know what our administrators, especially those who read this *Journal*, feel about these matters.

"The weaknesses of government by committee are well recognized, and not least by those who sit upon committees. The tendencies to delay, to postpone, to avoid, and to compromise are apparent in almost all the types of committees we have studied. Responsibility is difficult to discern in a many-headed institution; too easily a committee becomes a screen or a shield. And, like the rabbits, to which Mr. Churchill compared them in 1940, they tend to multiply rapidly. Yet government cannot be carried on without them, and in the British system of representative, parliamentary, and consultative government they are essential. The question is not how to do without them but how to make the best of them."

—K. C. WHEARE
(in 'Government by Committee')

Public Corporations in Japan

Shiro Okabe

BEFORE World War II, apart from the gigantic arsenals and shipyards under the direct management of the Army and the Navy, a number of enterprises, for example, the railways, the postal service, the telegraph and telephone service, the Government Printing Office, etc., were run by the Government. The efficiency of these national undertakings was generally low and the quality of their services poor. This was due, in large measure, to the absence of thoughtful and elaborate planning in initially developing their management pattern and fiscal and accounting system. The inefficiency of the enterprises and their unsatisfactory services found expression in sharp criticisms which people showered on these undertakings. This was why there had been, from time to time, an outcry for conversion of these enterprises into non-governmental undertakings under private management. This was not brought to its realization, however.

After the war, under the Occupation policy, the railway motor and marine transportation projects under the Ministry of Transportation and the salt, camphor and tobacco monopolies operated by the Ministry of Finance were transferred to the management of a public corporation. Later, the Ministry of Telecommunications which ran the telegraph and telephone service was reorganized as a public corporation. Thus, there are now three public corporations in Japan, namely, the Japan National Railways Corporation, the Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation and the Japan Monopoly Corporation (for manufacture and sale of tobacco and cigarettes). These public corporations are modelled after the pattern of the government-owned corporation of the United States of America.

It is generally understood that this conversion was motivated, not by any consideration for improvement of the enterprises involved, but rather by a labour policy toward government workers, the prime objective of which was to remove the public corporation employees from the coverage of the National Public Service Law. The conversion, all the

same, resulted in considerable improvement in the efficiency of the enterprises concerned.

It might be pointed out here that these public corporations, at the time of their inception, had not been fully given that consideration which was so necessary to assure their operation in accordance with sound management principles. Moreover, they had been encumbered by a legacy of the limitations and controls that had existed in their former bureaucratic set-up, with the result that the new organization was far from the idealistic pattern worthy of the name of public corporation. Nevertheless, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of all concerned, not a few improvements have been introduced steadily in these organizations since the time of their creation. In particular, a notable contribution was made by the Public Corporation Rationalization Council, created in the Cabinet last year, which, in response to inquiries of the Prime Minister, submitted a number of recommendations for improvement of the public corporations. It is expected that these recommendations will bear fruit in due course. Again, academic and scientific circles in Japan, especially the Association of Public Administration and the Association of Management Engineering, had frequently taken up the public corporation as the subject of their study and had thrashed the problem out from many different angles. Literature on these researches has reached a staggering volume.

The aforementioned three public corporations in Japan carry on public enterprises hitherto monopolized by the Government. No monopolistic enterprise under private management has ever been transferred to the management of a public corporation.

II

The chief characteristics of the Japanese public corporations and their problems are—

(1) Capital of the public corporation is wholly subscribed by the Government. No private or other public organization is allowed to finance the public corporation. On this point each public corporation is greatly handicapped in procuring its working funds. However, the public corporation is authorized to issue debentures with the approval of its controlling Government agency.

(2) The public corporations, with the exception of the Japan Monopoly Corporation, have a Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is a policy-determining body that considers all important matters pertaining to the conduct of the activities of each public corporation. The budget, business and funding programmes, final accounts, and issue of debentures : all are matters subject to decision of the Board.

The Board of Directors is composed of five part-time members and a special member. The latter post is assumed by the president of the Corporation. The five members are appointed by the Cabinet with the consent of the *Diet*. The members do not receive any remuneration.

The Board of Directors is supposed to have extremely important duties in the sense that it determines the policies of the public corporation and acts as a bulwark against the inroads of bureaucratic concepts and practices in the working of the corporation. However, it is apt to be criticized as having no more than a nominal existence. Therefore, strengthening of the Board of Directors is considered a *sine qua non* for the sound development of the public corporation. To achieve this end, it would seem desirable *either* that the Board of Directors be provided with a staff office of its own, independent of the executive departments of the Corporation, *or* that the chairman of the Board of Directors concurrently assumes the post of the president (the head of the executive departments) of the Corporation. It is thought that unless such a step is taken, the present tendency that the Corporation's executive departments are fast becoming the absolute masters of the whole organization can hardly be checked. Indeed, it will become more noticeable as time goes on.

(3) The budgeting system of public corporations, as compared with Government budget, has the peculiarities listed below :

(a) The corporation budget is compiled on an accrual basis.

In order to make clear the state of its business and finance, each public corporation books an increase or decrease of property and its change on an accrual basis. In consequence, an expenditure budget is also prepared on the basis of the accrual of credits and debits.

(b) It has flexibility.

Law provides that a public corporation should be given latitude in compiling its budget in order that it may carry on its enterprise in a manner consistent with sound management principles and may thus be always in a position to cope with any sudden increase of demand, with any change in economic conditions and with any unpredictable situation. While this is a great improvement, the public corporation authorities point out that the range of the latitude currently allowed is painfully limited. They also insist rather that the budgetary restrictions should be abolished so as to limit budgeting to giving some standard amounts or differences between income and expenditure. To what extent flexibility should be allowed in formulation of the corporation budget is really a pressing problem.

(c) A ceiling is set on the total amount of salaries and wages.

According to the provision of law, a pay plan must be established for compensation of the officers and employees of the public corporation. In this connection the law also provides that the pay plan be drawn up in such a way that the disbursements for salaries and wages based thereon in any business year do not exceed the total amount of salaries and wages provided for in the budget which has been passed by the *Diet* for that business year. This total amount of salaries and wages is the amount arrived at by multiplying the total number of public corporation employees by the figures representing a pay scale more or less similar to that of government workers. Such a ceiling on salary and wage payments cannot be said to be a reasonable one. It exerts a demoralizing influence on corporation employees and undermines their will to improve the efficiency of the whole organization. It might be contended, however, that unless there is some such framework, the management would find

itself in an extremely difficult position when carrying on collective bargaining negotiations with its employees on the distribution of the vast incomes which would naturally accrue to the enterprise by reason of its absolutely monopolistic character.

Nevertheless, despite what has been stated above, the current system providing a ceiling on pay expenditures should be neither upheld nor encouraged, but should rather be abolished altogether at an early date. The public corporations in order to promote their efficiency should set up a pay structure so designed as to provide sufficient incentives to their employees and to reward the achievement and efficiency of the individual worker.

(4) Labour rights :

Like government workers, public corporation employees are not given the right to resort to dispute tactics, but they are authorized by law to engage in collective bargaining negotiations with the management and conclude collective agreements for the purpose of improving their conditions of work. The work-forces of the three public corporations are as follows : the Japan National Railways Corporation, 447,000; the Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation, 161,000; and the Japan Monopoly Corporation, 42,000. And they all form a strong labour union.

III

In Japan, the major enterprises now carried on directly by the Government are the postal service, minting, printing, forestry and alcohol monopoly undertakings.

The postal service is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Postal Services and has a working force of 252,000. Minting and printing activities, with a labour force of 1,700 and 7,600 respectively, are carried on by the Mint and the Government Printing Office under the Ministry of Finance. The management and control of State-owned forests is vested with the Forestry Agency of the Ministry of Agriculture and

Forestry. This enterprise employs 20,000 workers. The alcohol monopoly is run by the Light Industry Bureau of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and has 1,500 employees. These enterprises are all operated under a special account which is independent of the State's General Account, and carry on their activities on a self-supporting basis.

A Government enterprise is often considered the synonym for inefficiency in Japan. Therefore, change of its management pattern has been discussed frequently for the purpose of improving the efficiency of such enterprise. Many opinions have been advanced in these discussions. The preponderant view is that public enterprises like those now operated by the Government should be placed under the management of public corporations instead of being transferred to purely private management. It would thus appear that, in the eyes of the general public, the organizational pattern of public corporation has been the only attractive one for the management of public enterprises in Japan. In such circumstances, the crucial test of whether the public corporations could fulfil the popular expectations is their ability to run their respective enterprises strictly in accordance with sound management principles and to develop and promote their efficiency, while upholding the public character of their undertaking and assuring satisfactory services to the whole people. What steps, then, should be taken by the public corporations to achieve these objectives? The answer to this question is still awaited.

Looking at the other side of the picture, it is true that some scathing criticism has been and is being levelled at the public corporations. Briefly, the substance of this criticism is that an organization known as public corporation is the embodiment of the shortcomings and weaknesses of both Government-operated and private enterprises. Such criticism is, perhaps, not founded on fact.

Large-scale national undertakings, including development engineering projects, housing construction and others, are about to adopt the organizational pattern of public corporations one after another at the present time, and in the circumstances the criticism of the sort described above, if well-founded, will deal a fatal blow to the future development of public corporations in Japan.

IV

One of the crises that confront the public corporations of Japan is that, under the existing system, the location of responsibility is not clear. In cases where any public corporation has caused a serious loss or damage to the people in the conduct of its activities, would the political responsibility for such loss or damage extend to the Minister of State who exercises supervisory authority over the public corporation? Would the Board of Directors share the responsibility or would the responsibility rest with the president of the public corporation alone and go no farther? If clear-cut answers could be given to these problems, the position of the public corporations in Japan would be on a more secure footing.

There are certain organizations in Japan which are of a similar character to public corporations and the following institutions are chief among them: the Housing Finance Corporation; the Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Finance Corporation; the Medium and Small Enterprise Finance Corporation; the People's Finance Corporation; the Japan Development Bank and the Export and Import Bank. While it is obvious that all these organizations are corporations within the meaning of public law, they are treated differently from public corporations in so far as law is concerned. To quote an example, the Public Corporations Labour Relations Law is not applicable to these organizations. However, the students of public administration feel that all these organizations should be considered public corporations. The organizations concerned are known in Japan by the name "government-connected agencies", but the students of public administration tend to include them in public corporations when pursuing studies of these entities and presumably this view is right.



"A sound organizer may be a poor leader or administrator, because his temperamental qualities may not fit him for the latter task. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that a poor organizer can ever make a good leader, if he has any real organizing work to do."

—JAMES D. MOONEY

(in *'The Principles of Organization'*)

Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department

Indarjit Singh

ONE of the important recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-54, was that "a small committee should go into the '*organisation and methods*' of the Income-tax Department, if necessary with the help of experts who have specialised in '*efficiency audit*' of large-scale organisations". The Commission recommended that problems of training including training in public relations and of improvement in the collection of statistical material should also be carefully examined. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations and a special unit has been set up in the Central Board of Revenue, Ministry of Finance, to undertake an 'O & M' survey of the Department. This unit is under the direct charge of an officer of the status of Member, Central Board of Revenue, and keeps in close touch with the Director, Organisation and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, for purposes of technical guidance and advice.

The present article gives a brief account of the developments leading to and the objectives of the proposed enquiry into '*organisation and methods*' of the Income-tax Department. It further indicates the plan of action that is being followed.

II

The only previous enquiry into the organisation and personnel of the Indian Income-tax Department was undertaken in 1945-46. It was not based on job-analysis or work studies; the strength of the Department was fixed on the basis of a standard of output empirically estimated. The recommendations of that enquiry had hardly begun to be implemented when partition of the country intervened, followed by Federal financial integration of the former Princely States and the enactment of the Estate Duty Act. All this meant additional work-load on the dwindling reserves of trained manpower.

Staff increases have since taken place from time to time. But these were related to specific items of additional

work rather than to a re-assessment of the over-all needs. The Department continues to be under considerable stress. Arrears of work on assessments, collections and appeals tend to accumulate.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission received a large number of suggestions on administrative matters in response to their Questionnaire; the subject was also a recurring theme in the evidence tendered before them. As a Commission charged with broad terms of reference and from considerations of time at their disposal, they were unable to undertake a close examination of issues of an administrative character raised before them. On such preliminary examination as they could make, it became evident that certain disquieting features existed in the management of the Department which required a detailed investigation.

One such feature was the continued accumulation of arrears over the last few years. The arrears of assessment increased by 58.8% during the year ended 1st April, 1955, and those of appeals before the Appellate Assistant Commissioners by 150% as compared to the position on the 1st April, 1948. The latter formed, on the 1st April, 1955, 125% of the annual average intake of appeals. Translated into commercial terms, this would mean that in the Income-tax Department we have a business concern in which in addition to an average of 9,00,000 bills to be sent out every year, 6,00,000 old bills are awaiting preparation; and of those already issued, 1,00,000, are under adjudication. Against an average annual incoming of Rs. 160 crores (1.6 billion) the outstanding collections of the Department amount to Rs. 200 crores (2 billion) with about 20% of the sum as irrecoverable! It is not, therefore, without justification that the average citizen entertains doubts regarding the business-like conduct of Government Departments.

The present situation in the Department was ascribed by departmental witnesses to shortage of staff, particularly of trained personnel and to the enormous growth of the organisation during World War II and after, for which previous preparation could not have been made. Trained staff cannot obviously be obtained to order; it takes about 4 to 5 years to shape a competent officer out of raw recruits to the Service or even from men promoted from within the ranks of the Department. The Taxation Enquiry Commission, were,

therefore, of the view that a better use should be made of the existing resources of manpower by a careful 'work study'. The Commission further observed that there was "lack of adequate and suitable office accommodation, arrangements for the seating of assesseees and equipment and stationery in the income-tax offices", as also absence of sufficient attention to methods of work and organisation. The Commission also recommended that the Central Board of Revenue should impress upon the officers and the staff of the Department the value of good public relations—the general deportment and behaviour of personnel towards assesseees, amenities in the form of waiting rooms, etc. and consideration for their convenience in the matter of granting adjournments, and the like. In short, the contents and sequence of work should be re-defined and the method and equipment improved by the application of modern techniques of work study so that trained staff could be deployed, so to say, strategically in order to make for optimum efficiency. 'Work study' would also help to place the problem in a correct perspective both for short and long term arrangements, by treating them as two aspects of a continuing plan of action.

If administration is a systematic ordering of affairs and calculated use of resources, the Income-tax Department, for reasons beyond its control, has not been able to live up to this maxim. It has been dogged by the spectre of huge arrears, amounting at present to nearly a year's back-load. Some deterioration in standards of work has also admittedly taken place. Such conditions are not conducive to the maintenance of good public relations. They are liable to create discontent among assesseees, leading sometimes to complaints of harassment. Whether heavy arrears of work are tackled by increasing untrained and inexperienced staff or by *ad hoc* measures designed to secure a larger volume of disposal than what the existing standards warrant, a certain relaxation in the quality of work is inevitable.

The objectives of the present O & M enquiry are, therefore, determined to a large extent by the cumulative effects of the various factors mentioned above. Expressed briefly these objectives are:

- (i) to eliminate conditions that lead to a chronic state of arrears of work;

- (ii) to increase the ability of the Department to prevent loss of revenue; and
- (iii) to enable the Department to function in the best traditions of public service, having due regard to the genuine grievances of the tax-payers.

In brief, it has to be examined whether, given a properly constituted organisation, employing economical and efficient methods, the present manpower is sufficient in numbers and quality, for the work-load to be discharged. In such an examination the first step must necessarily be to ascertain just *what* the work to be done consists of, at each of its many stages. In other words, job-analysis is the crux of the enquiry. "What" needs to be done has first to be clearly defined and understood; the next stage is to see what would be the best organisation, equipment and methods for doing it. This leads to setting up of standards of performance—which in turn, lead to a decision of how many men are needed at each level, and what degree of training or experience is required of them before they can efficiently perform their tasks.

III

It could well be suggested that since the enquiry concerns an established department, it might be simpler to start with the standards of performance laid down in 1946—however rough and ready they might have been—and then to modify them suitably in the light of (a) the past experience with their application, (b) the considered advice of the experienced personnel of the Department, and (c) the future needs of output and quality of work. There are, however, certain fundamental objections to such a use of the existing standards. There is a wide-spread feeling that the present standards do not represent a fair work-load as evidenced by the periodical "disposal drives" launched by the Department to deal with accumulating arrears, which incidentally, lead also to a deterioration in the quality of output. Nor would the personal opinions of the experienced personnel, as to what the standards should be, find ready acceptance unless such standards are demonstrably founded on an objective basis.

While the past experience with the working of the existing standards and the personal observations of departmental

supervisors must obviously be taken into consideration (in fact, the departmental "seminars" mentioned further below have been requested to give their considered views on these matters), "work study" has to be undertaken for the most part, for setting up new standards of performance on scientific and objective lines. "Work study" will also help in standardising procedures and control measures and placing them on an economical and efficient basis.

"Work study" differs from other approaches in that it proceeds to determine the new standards of performance after ensuring that methods of work employed by an organisation make effective and efficient use of manpower; that the structure of the department is conducive to optimum efficiency and is responsive to its objectives; and that conditions exist for improving the quality of work by proper initial training and supervision.

"Work study" also enables mechanical work and non-repetitive work to be demarcated. The former is reduced to the form of set procedures, the meticulous observance of which leads to greater efficiency; while the latter is marked out for analytical study with a view to introducing as much regulation as is practicable in conducting it. In the Income-tax Department, this is of special importance as the regulatory process admittedly should not result in reducing assessment proceedings to the level of mechanical operations. A delicate balancing of various considerations has to be achieved : there is the need for providing full opportunity for vigour and resilience in conducting investigations, as also for ensuring that significant points are not overlooked or unnecessary work is not created in the name of investigations.

"Work study" further calls for special attention to the use of correct and efficient procedures. The importance of procedure is well expressed in the words of Bagehot, used in another connection, "the hyphen that joins, the buckle that binds". The procedure knits the organisation into a whole and enables it to discharge its day-to-day work. It assists in the most efficient division of labour in an organisation. Procedures are in the nature of institutional habits that to a great extent manifest and shape the personality and character of an organisation. They stabilise day-to-day work, contribute to the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities of an organisation and release energies for devoting

more time to detailed investigation of important problems. One has, however, to safeguard against the manifestation of 'the procedural hardening of administrative arteries' and to balance flexibility of approach with procedural competence.

IV

Having decided, for these reasons, to undertake a full work-study it was necessary to plan its course in advance. It was realised that it would naturally have to fall into fairly well-defined successive stages.

The *first* stage would be to understand thoroughly the existing structure, procedures and methods of work, *i.e.* to know how the Department is at present organised; how its total task of assessments, collections, adjudication, appeals, etc., is divided into "jobs" and "processes"; how many and what grades of personnel are engaged on these jobs; what procedure and equipment they are employing; and what standards of output are expected of them.

The *second* stage would be to examine what features of the existing structure, procedures and equipment need to be eliminated, modified, or re-designed to give more efficient results. The improvements which suggest themselves may not always be obvious or valid. To arrive at reliable conclusions it might be necessary to carry out some pilot experiments to observe how the suggested improvements work out in practice. The conclusions of such examination and experiments would lead to the *third* stage—the formulation of final recommendations and decisions for regrouping of the sub-tasks and procedures, re-designing of the organisation, methods and equipment and the resetting of standards of performance to be expected of the personnel engaged at different points in the reorganised machine. The implications of these decisions will also call for a reassessment of the number and quality of manpower and for improvement in the arrangements for training and public relations.

There can of course be no rigid demarcation between the three stages. Some overlapping is bound to occur and may indeed be desirable.

V

The first of the three stages mentioned above consists essentially of fact-finding. The collection of accurate and

objective data regarding the existing structure and functioning of the Department is, therefore, of vital importance.

Primary factual material is comparatively easy to collect. Difficulties, however, arise in gathering material which shows not merely the trend of over-all functioning of the Department quantitatively but would also throw light on factors that affect quality and output of work.

It is accordingly necessary to collect and process basic data in two phases. The first phase would involve a general reconnaissance of the whole field to be covered by the enquiry, the assembly of *preliminary* data on an *ad hoc* basis and its appraisal in order to prepare a plan for collecting and treating *detailed* data. In the second phase such *detailed* material will be gathered from representative "charges" selected by stratified random sampling so that the conclusions drawn are valid for the whole Department.

The first phase of the collection of preliminary data commenced in May 1955 and is now nearing completion. A plan for the next phase of detailed investigations has been developed on the basis of well-tried techniques used in O & M enquiries elsewhere but by adjusting them to the circumstances of the Income-tax Department. The adjustments needed are fully discussed with committees which are established on an *ad hoc* basis in each "charge".

For securing the benefit of the advice of experienced personnel as well as for mobilising their support, "seminars" have been set up in each "charge" under the leadership of the Commissioner of Income-tax. All categories of staff have been covered. "Talking points" for the "seminars" have been furnished by the Central Board of Revenue, though the "seminar" is at liberty to add to them. The constitution of "seminars" is an attempt to transform staff indoctrination into group consultation. The "seminars" would ensure that the respective roles of each of the participating elements in the organisation are fully appreciated and their experience drawn upon in the joint deliberations. As only a limited number of persons can be included in each "seminar", it is further the intention to institute a "suggestion scheme" to supplement the "seminars". The scheme will tap suggestions from those enthusiastic staff members who have not been able to participate in the "seminars". The

experience gained of present experiment would probably point a way to a permanent scheme of continuous staff collaboration.

In collecting data during the first stage of the enquiry, every effort is being made to evoke the interest and enthusiasm of the officials of the Department. The plan of investigation which has been evolved avoids abstruse and complex processes. The analytical instruments to be used will be simple and commonplace and the investigations will be conducted with the active collaboration of those who handle the actual job. The officer in charge of each unit under investigation would be co-opted as an active member of the O & M survey party for the time his unit is under review. This will enable him to overcome the feeling that his work is being subjected to external inspection and fault-finding. He will also get acquainted with O & M techniques to be applied for possible future use. To simplify the task of fact-finding and to secure uniformity in the manner of presentation of material for later examination, standard forms of job description sheets and process charts have been developed. A few specimens of these are shown in figures 1 to 3 (pp. 232-35).

Furthermore, in order to stimulate enthusiasm and create a general consciousness for improving the existing methods of work, discussion groups have been set up in many "charges". For example, a discussion group of Supervisors in Bombay has been entrusted with investigation relating to registration of papers, systems of filing, and rationalisation of statistical returns. Another discussion group at Ahmedabad is engaged in the task of reorientating the form for return of income, popularly known as forms I.T. 11 and 11-A. Some Commissioners of Income-tax have also undertaken to give personal attention to some important problems: one of them is employed on structural changes that should be made for increasing the output and enhancing the quality of work; another Commissioner is preparing a paper on the manner in which 'work-content' of assessment proceedings conducted by an Income-tax Officer should be evaluated.

The whole enquiry will thus be a joint enterprise of all members of the Department to make improvements, the Central Board of Revenue providing through the Member in charge, unity of command, direction and guidance.

FIGURE 1

PROCESS CHART

JOB: EXPARTE ASSESSMENT
UNDER SECTION 23 (4)

LEGEND

- Means operation something being created changed or added
- Means transportation or movement in or out of office
- ▽ Means storage something remains in place awaiting further action
- Means inspection something checked or verified but not changed

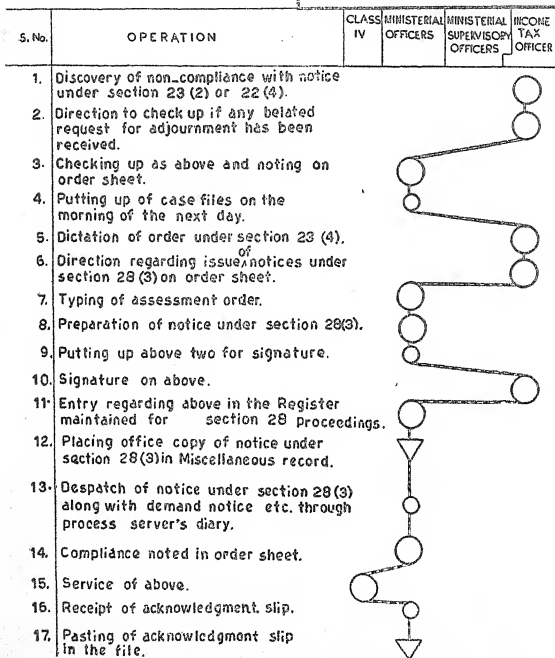


FIGURE 2

PROCESS CHART

**JOB: RECEIPT OF RETURN OF
INCOME (I.T. 11)**

LEGEND

- Means operation something being created changed or added
- Means transportation or movement in or out of office
- ▽ Means storage something remains in place awaiting further action
- Means inspection something checked or verified but not changed

S. No.	OPERATION	CLASS			
		IV	MINISTERIAL OFFICERS	MINISTERIAL SUPERVISORY OFFICERS	INCOME TAX OFFICER
1.	Scrutiny of General Index Register to see if return has been received.				○
2.	Preparation of reminders where returns not received.		○		
3.	Putting up of above for signature		○		
4.	Signature on above.				○
5.	Despatch of above through process server's diary.		○		
6.	Receipt of return of income in time.		○		
7.	Entry in General Index Register regarding receipt of returns.		○		
8.	Preparation of cover of returns and connected statements (I.T. 125).		○		
9.	Placing of returns and connected statements in I.T. 125.		○		
10.	Entry regarding above in order sheet.		○		
11.	Return wrongly received; covering letter for despatch to I.T.O. concerned.		○		
12.	Put up before I.T.O. for signature.		○		
13.	Signature on above.				○
14.	Despatch of the same.		○		
15.	Receipt of acknowledgment.		○		
16.	Filing of above.		▽		

FIGURE 3
JOB DESCRIPTION SHEETS

I

Job: Report to C.I.T. for obtaining permission to call for statement of total wealth

S. No.	Description of task	Classification	Grading	Standard Form (Present Number)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Preparation of report to C.I.T.	I.T.O.	..	S.F.
2.	Typing of above and submission for signature.	C _i	..	..
3.	Signature of above.	I.T.O.	..	..
4.	Placing of office copy of above in the miscellaneous cover.	C	A	..
5.	Despatch of above.	C _d	A	..
6.	Entry regarding above in the Order Sheet.	C	A	..
7.	Receipt of approval.	C _i	A	..
8.	Entry regarding above in the Order Sheet.	C	A	..
9.	Preparation of notice under section 22 (4).	C	A	..
10.	Putting up of above for signature.	C	A	..
11.	Signature of above.	I.T.O.	..	..
12.	Placing of office copy of above in the miscellaneous cover.	C	A	..
13.	Despatch of above.	C _d	A	..
14.	Service of above.	IV	..	..
15.	Receipt of acknowledgment of above.	C _i	A	S.F. (I.T.57)
16.	Receipt of total wealth statement.	C _i	A	..
17.	Placing of above in the file.	C	A	..
18.	Submission of above for further consideration.	C	A	..

II

Job: Computation of Income-tax

S. No.	Description of task	Classification	Grading	Standard Form (Present Number)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Calculation of gross tax. (Separate break-down statement for grossing up of dividends etc.)	C	B	S. F. (I.T.30)
2.	Working of average rate.	C	B	..
3.	Working of rebates.	C	B	..
4.	Computation of net tax.	C	B	..
5.	Deduction of 18-A payment, if any.	C	B	..
6.	Deduction of 23-B payment, if any.	C	B	..
7.	Deduction of other deposits, if any.	C	B	..
8.	Calculation of interest under Section 18-A (5), 18-A (6) or 18-A (8).	C	B	..
9.	Addition or deduction on account of above.	C	B	..
10.	Computation of net tax.	C	B	..
11.	Checking of above.	S	C	..

LEGEND

Column 3 of table above.

I. T. O. — Income-tax Officer

C — Clerical operation—suffixes 'i', 't' and 'd' denote inward receipt, despatch and typing operations respectively, of a clerical nature

S — Supervisory operation

IV — Unskilled operation

*Column 4 *ibid.**

A — Operations of an elementary character

B — Operations requiring training and experience

C — Operations involving supervision and initiative

*Column 5 *ibid.**

S. F. — New standard form to be evolved

S. F. — Existing standard form

(....)

Along with the *fact-finding*, i.e. knowing *what* is being done now and *how*, a good deal of the examination—seeing (a) what is *wrong* with the present state of affairs and *why*, and (b) *what should be done about it*—is also being attended to, not only by the “GHQ” of the enterprise but also by the many of the operating units in the different “charges”. To help those who are not fully familiar with what faults to look for and what the essential elements of an efficient organisation should be, general guidance has been given in a letter addressed by the Chairman of the Central Board of Revenue to all Commissioners of Income-tax. Extracts from this letter together with the suggested headings for the “seminars” are reproduced in the *notes* at the end of this article.

In addition, the officer in charge of the whole enquiry pays frequently personal visits to the different “charges” to spread among all units an understanding and appreciation of the principles of efficient organisation and the need to pay proper attention to the requirement of proper delegation of functions and responsibilities; span of control; co-ordination and communication, both internally and with outsiders; line and staff relationship, control mechanism for ensuring smooth and rapid flow of work; etc. In this manner the enquiry is also assuming the character of an *extensive programme of training for personnel at all grades*, in the principles of administration and O & M techniques.

VII

This is in essence a brief description of the project in hand and not a report of achievements. It states what the objectives are and how it is hoped to attain them; it also gives an account of some of the steps already taken. The writer hopes to report in the future issues of this *Journal* further progress, especially in the more technical fields of time studies and work simplification.

NOTES

- I. *Extracts from a letter from Shri A. K. Roy, Chairman, Central Board of Revenue, to all Commissioners of Income-tax*

“The scope of the enquiry follows.....from the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission and it has been concurred in by the Organisation and Methods Division of the Cabinet Secretariat.”

"The ultimate aim is to ascertain the labour force, at all levels, required to tackle the total work-load and the stages in which the desired strength can be achieved, suggesting as an *ad interim* measure rearrangement of work that may be necessary to avoid undue accumulation of arrears."

"Job Analysis" is the essence of the enquiry and this detailed and complex task can only be carried out with the assistance of the field organisations. I suggest that, notwithstanding your other preoccupations, you should take a close interest in this work. In the first place, the results arrived at will affect your day-to-day work intimately. Secondly, it will be realised that such enquiries cannot be undertaken frequently and whatever views you have should be now expressed."

"Your attitude to the enquiry should be more than what the word 'co-operation' signifies, for that is taken for granted by the Board. Your staff and you should not be passive spectators of the enquiry, affording facilities for the work, but should also actively think about the various problems relevant to it and participate in the conduct of the enquiry. Subject to any other suggestions that you may make, it is the intention to achieve these desiderata at this stage in the following ways :—

- (a) A 'suggestions scheme' will be launched shortly asking for the views of those that actually handle the job, on various questions that affect efficiency of work. The Board have no doubt that a fund of useful ideas exists in the Department for its improvement which needs an outlet.
- (b) Meanwhile, some thinking may be done in your charge. On informal consultation at Delhi recently, many of the Commissioners agreed that it would be desirable to constitute a 'seminar' in each charge for discussing administrative and technical problems connected with the enquiry. The 'seminar' may be directed by you personally or one of your senior officers. It should comprise competent personnel from all levels of the Department, including ministerial. Its structure should be adhered to for drawing up the report of the 'seminar' so that collation work is facilitated in the Board, otherwise, you are at liberty to include any additional points that you consider necessary.
- (c) As regards the procedure for carrying out the enquiry, it is the intention at present to constitute 'task forces'—to use a convenient Americanism for investigating teams—under the leadership of an officer of the rank of Deputy Director of Inspection."

"The officer in charge of the unit under investigation would be co-opted as an active member of the task force. The team will work in the respective jurisdiction to which it is assigned and it will be under instruction to keep in close touch with you. It will conduct the enquiry according to detailed pattern drawn up by the Board."

"It is obvious that the assignment undertaken by the Board can be successfully implemented only by corporate thinking and concerted effort at all levels of the Department. Our endeavour should be to leave the Department in a better shape at the end of the investigations than we found it. It is not, in any sense, a disparagement of the present work done by the

Department as I am fully aware of the intensity of your effort. Even the best-run department needs a periodical reappraisal owing to changes in functions and the magnitude of work-load apart from the strain through which the Income-tax Department has passed during the last ten years, to mention partition, federal financial integration and estate duty as some of the prominent factors in this connection."

II. Headings for "Seminars"

1. Organisational changes including an examination of the present law relating to jurisdiction of Income-tax Officers, and other officers in so far as it affects disposal of work.
2. Assignment of duties at all levels of the Department.
3. A review of delegation of powers all along the line—administrative, technical (assessment, collection and settlement) and investigational.
4. Standards of Performance : Please detail the standards of performance already prevalent for various types of work for all categories of staff—a critique being attempted specially of the standards of output as regards assessment work brought into use in 1946—and particularly assess their utility for (i) control of output, (ii) control of quality of work, (iii) assessment of staff requirements. Should standards of assessment work at all be attempted? If not, how do you propose to measure output for control of work and for assessment of staff?
5. Basis of constitution of Income-tax circles or wards in your charge—suggestions for modification of the basis.
6. Assessment work : Factors that lead to arrears in assessment and remedies for controlling them. Please detail all such causes that arise from within the Department and from without. Concrete suggestions should also be made for improving the quality of work.
7. Suggestions on changes in methods of work designed—
 - (i) to eliminate unnecessary work;
 - (ii) to introduce essential items of work that are now being missed.
8. Suggestions for disposal of present arrears of assessment.
9. Measures for reducing arrears of collection and for improving "collectibility ratio" in future.
10. Filing and recording systems as aids to expeditious disposal of work.
11. Measures for reducing arrears of appeals.
12. Suggestions designed to increase the "punching" power of the Department—e.g. in respect of internal survey; external survey;

the working of the collation branch; inspection work; investigation work at the C.B.R. level and at the Commissioner's level; internal audit and any other item of work relevant to this objective.

13. Factors affecting regular flow of work in the Income-tax Department and measures designed to equalise the work-load as between different months of the year.
14. Factors that strain relations with the public and suggested remedies.
15. Arrangements to keep Income-tax Officers and the staff informed of the techniques pertaining to special types of assessment; supply of intelligence—economic and otherwise—relating to the disposal of assessment work. Please detail the type of information that is considered suitable as an aid to assessment, which should be available to the Income-tax Officer (i) by his own efforts, and (ii) from his superior officers including organisations attached to the C.B.R.
16. Revision of Income-tax forms.
17. Methods of recruitment and training of gazetted and non-gazetted staff.
18. Codification of Income-tax law.

“One of the greatest privileges in life is to work under a boss whom one can admire and respect—a man who is a real leader, who gives his own best effort to his work and exacts the best from those under him. Such a man may be a hard taskmaster, he may be impatient of incompetency, but his subordinates never want to leave him for a boss who will accept sloppy work. It is the greatest inspiration to work under such a boss.”

—MANAGING THE BOSS
(in *Harper's Magazine*,
December, 1926)

On Bureaucracy

S. V. Kogekar

INTRODUCTION

AN indication of the growing importance of the study of public administration in the larger field of political science was given two years ago by the holding of a Round Table Conference at Paris on this subject. The conference was held under the auspices of the International Political Science Association—a body sponsored by the U.N.E.S.C.O.—and was attended by some forty invitees from thirteen countries.

At the third World Congress of Political Science held at Stockholm from the 20th to the 27th August 1955, a plenary session was devoted to the discussion of the results of the Paris Conference. The Paris Conference was concerned with the subject of comparative public administration with special reference to Bureaucracy. The Stockholm Congress was called upon to concentrate on 'Bureaucracy'.

It was the privilege of the writer of this article to present to the Congress in his capacity as Rapporteur General a report of the Paris discussions in which he had the honour to participate, and to indicate the topics on which further discussion would be fruitful. By an interesting coincidence the session on Bureaucracy was held in the Governor's Castle at Uppsala where the Congress had moved for a day from its usual venue at the Parliament House in Stockholm. The text of the report is given below in the form of a working paper.

THE WORKING PAPER

1. An excellent summary of the Paris Conference on Bureaucracy has been made available in the form of a brochure published by the International Political Science Association. Here I propose briefly to present a bird's-eye view of the Paris discussions and to indicate some of the points on which further comments will prove most useful.

2. As Prof. Taylor Cole has said in his introduction to the I.P.S.A. brochure, the discussions at Paris were

"preliminary and exploratory" in character and served to focus attention on the most salient aspects of the subject without entering into the niceties of the methodology of comparative studies. The one great advantage of the procedure followed at Paris was that it enabled the participants to exchange ideas and information without the necessity of linking them all up in an integrated pattern. For this latter there was neither time nor an established common framework. The advantage lay in the encouragement it offered to an uninhibited discussion of the many problems raised. Each participant was free to draw the line of relevance in accordance with his own conception of the universe of discourse. What was remarkable was that despite differences in the social backgrounds and the political systems of the thirteen countries from which the participants were drawn, the discussion was well sustained and had something to contribute to every one's understanding of the complex problems.

3. The seven topics discussed at Paris in several sessions at the Round Table related to—

- (i) different types of Bureaucracy in modern societies;
- (ii) recent developments in the theory of democratic administration;
- (iii) participation by the citizen in the process of Government;
- (iv) Bureaucracy in political parties in post-war Europe;
- (v) post-war trends in public personnel administration;
- (vi) new areas for research in public administration; and
- (vii) problems of public administration in under-developed areas.

It will be clear from a perusal of this list that there was no attempt to exhaust the subject. On the other hand, there was a distinct effort to deal with those aspects of public administration which were closely related to the wider problems of political and social philosophy. There was greater emphasis on the functional and dynamic aspects than on the structural and juridical aspects of public administration.

4. The topics broadly fell into two groups : those dealing with public administration in general and those dealing with the nature and functions of Bureaucracy. In the former category, the most important problem that was considered related to the theory of democratic administration. Inevitably the first question to settle was one of definition. What was meant by democratic administration? Was it simply administration in a democratic country or did it refer to any other criterion of judgment? If it was simply administration in a democratic country, then there was no particular point in distinguishing between a democratic administration and an undemocratic administration. At any rate, the distinction was based not so much on the character of the administration as on the nature of the political institutions and practices prevailing in the countries concerned. The point was however made with some force that the administrative system was not merely a passive instrument to be wielded alike for democratic and undemocratic purposes. In a democratic polity even the administration took on a democratic character which was variously explained. According to one formula, a democratic administration (i) functions in the interest of the people and not of a class or section of the people, (ii) is susceptible to public opinion and respects civil and political liberties, and (iii) is subordinate to political control rather than being autonomous. In an authoritative State the administration does not generally conform to these criteria. Even in a democratic State a situation might exist where the administration is non-democratic. This might be so when an administrative system fashioned by a preceding regime survives into the next one for some time until it is refashioned.

The need for such devices as decentralisation, delegation and devolution in the organisation of the administrative machinery was understood to follow from a desire to make the administration more and more democratic by enabling the people to take a greater part in the administrative function. The criterion of efficiency by which the system of administration can be judged would itself be modified to fit in with democratic values. Thus, while technical efficiency might be best attained by a highly centralised system, "democratic" efficiency might indicate a certain degree of decentralisation in the administration.

An interesting offshoot of this discussion was the

consideration given to one consequence of the neutrality of the administration as between competing political parties which was accepted as a democratic necessity. The question was raised whether restrictions on the political activities of civil servants which followed from the "neutrality" concept did not in a sense contradict democratic values.

The important issues emerging from this discussion may be stated as follows:

- (a) To what extent is the normative approach implied in a discussion of democratic administration capable of scientific development? or should we rather speak, as was suggested at the Paris Conference, of a theory of administration suited to democratic States?
- (b) What are the acceptable external (exogenous) criteria of democratic administration?
- (c) What are the acceptable internal (endogenous) criteria of democratic administration?
- (d) What is the validity of the "neutrality" concept?
- (e) What is the basis on which non-democratic administrations can be classified?

5. Another topic which also dealt with public administration in general was in regard to the problems of under-developed areas.

Since the expression "under-developed" as applied to certain countries in the world has primarily an economic content, the question whether the current distinction between developed and under-developed countries could form a basis for the analysis of their administrative problems was raised. Was there any essential difference between administrative problems facing developed and under-developed countries? If, as was suggested, the under-developed countries were faced with administrative problems arising out of the process of transition, such problems have been and are being faced by the developed countries as well. Then again, all under-developed countries are not equally placed in respect of these problems.

The discussion fell into three broad divisions, viz.
(i) the role of international organisations in providing

technical assistance to under-developed countries; (ii) the variety of problems faced by different under-developed countries; and (iii) research in public administration relating to under-developed countries.

On the question of technical assistance it was generally felt that sufficient attention was not being paid to the local situation in the assisted countries by those responsible for organising such assistance. The sociological backgrounds of the assisted countries deserved to be studied thoroughly by the outside experts before they could advise under-developed countries on their administrative systems. The importance of associating local talent with foreign experts was also emphasised. The need for co-ordination between various international agencies operating within an under-developed country was also stressed.

Many participants were critical of the current approach to the task of technical assistance which, they complained, was based on a mechanistic view of public administration. But it was necessary to realise that the administrative system in any country was, after all, a reflection of its social system. Experts in one country should not rush in to advise governments in other countries on the basis of their own, and necessarily limited, experience. The expert must not only study the local situation in its historical perspective but also seek clarification of ends before he turned his attention to the instrumentalities.

It was, however, possible to exaggerate the importance of the local situation by regarding every problem and every system of public administration as unique. Such a view would ultimately result in a denial of exchange of ideas and advice between countries which was such a healthy feature of the present times.

The second and the third of the above divisions were closely interrelated. While some of the participants coming from the so-called under-developed areas provided a brief picture of the special problems encountered in their respective countries; they also emphasised the necessity of extensive surveys of the field by competent experts. But that led to the nature of the surveys to be conducted. According to what concept should they be proceeded with? It was suggested that political scientists and the International Political Science Association could formulate basic conceptions

and provide some sort of a working model of the essential elements to be covered by these surveys. The technique of the study of comparative government may be of some help in this respect.

Issues for further discussion :—

- (a) What should be the nature and purpose of technical assistance programmes in the field of public administration?
- (b) What would be the most fruitful method of collaboration between foreign experts and local investigators in this field?
- (c) Is it possible and useful for further study to classify different countries with reference to some administrative criteria? If so, what should be the criteria?
- (d) What would be the essential elements in a comparative survey of public administration in different countries or areas?

6. The third and the last topic in this category of public administration in general dealt with problems of research in public administration.

As was only to be expected in a conference of social scientists, there was considerable difference of opinion on the "right" approach to the task of research in public administration. Broadly speaking three approaches were discussed; the legal, the technical and the historical. It was also contended that political scientists should be able to develop an independent approach of their own aimed at outlining the basic conceptions underlying administrative procedures and practices in different countries. The human aspect of public administration, it was complained, was too often neglected. Attention was also drawn to the need for an international terminology in order to avoid semantic difficulties.

Because of the multiplicity of points of view on the question of research, the discussion could hardly be called exhaustive or even adequate as a basis for further action. It would perhaps be quite appropriate for the World Congress to devote closer attention to this very important and very controversial question. The main issues for discussion

would appear to be (a) what are the lacunae in the existing material on problems of public administration?; (b) what steps are urgently called for in closing the existing gaps in this field?; (c) is it desirable to establish a working model of the basic concepts in public administration studies?; what should be the agency for such an attempt?; what concepts should be considered as basic?; and (d) what steps are necessary for securing access to information on problems of public administration in different countries?

7. In the second group of topics dealing specifically with problems of bureaucracy, four aspects of the subject were discussed. The first and the most important one was, of course, that of definition. What is a Bureaucracy? Who is a bureaucrat? Following the writings of Max Weber on the subject it was considered whether the adoption of an ideal type of Bureaucracy could serve as a model with reference to which bureaucratic phenomena could be identified. Three questions were posed: (i) Have all bureaucracies the same character and the same content? (ii) What are the various types of relations between bureaucracies and their leaders? (iii) To what extent is Bureaucracy the function of the social structure and to what extent does it take its character from a particular political regime?

In the course of discussion which ranged over a wide field, the characteristics of Bureaucracy such as its anonymity, its rationality; its function as a leveller of social inequalities, etc. were noted. The attitude of hostility and derision adopted by the public towards Bureaucracy was mentioned as a universal phenomenon. It was, however, pointed out that the pejorative sense attached to the word "Bureaucracy" had no rational justification. It was rather a result of ignorance of the role and the necessary procedures of Bureaucracy in the modern State.

It was stated in the course of discussion that the relation between Bureaucracy and the society to which it belonged did not receive the attention that it deserved. Doubts were expressed about the feasibility of a general definition of Bureaucracy applicable to all cases.

It was quite clear that there were great differences in the approaches of different participants to the subject depending on the political and historical backgrounds of the countries to which they belonged. The result was to re-emphasise

the necessity of further discussion of the three questions posed at the outset.

8. The second problem in relation to the study of bureaucracy discussed at the Round Table was that of participation by the citizens in the bureaucratic process. The widening scope of governmental functions and the increase in the volume of parliamentary business had tended at once to enlarge the Bureaucracy and reduce the effectiveness of popular control over it. This situation had necessitated the establishment of a more direct relationship between organised public opinion and the Bureaucracy. The establishment of consultative bodies was one of the ways of ensuring this relationship. The function of such bodies was partly advisory and partly that of sharing in the executive decisions. In some instances the association of these bodies with the executive departments of Government even extended to participation of the former in judicial decisions. The temporary employment under Government, of persons drawn from private business or the professions, the co-optation of individuals to elected and appointed administrative authorities, consumers' councils,—were some of the other means which could be adopted to serve the same purpose. These views were no doubt expressed on the experience of Western democracies. It was also noted that in addition to such institutional devices a wide range of influence can be brought to bear on the civil services through the Press and other avenues of public opinion.

Participation of the public in the bureaucratic process, despite its great advantages, could, however, be carried too far. There was for instance the possibility of advisory bodies being captured by pressure groups using their influence for selfish ends. If pressure groups thus succeed in taking hold of these bodies, the process was bound to operate in opposition to all accepted tenets of democracy. In consequence what might be advocated as a democratic practice to start with might eventually cause the destruction of democracy. The problem became particularly serious in countries where a plurality of economic interests existed as against other countries where there was no such plurality. Obviously, the problem had to be tackled with reference to the prevailing political conditions and traditions of each country. No single approach could be prescribed. The

discussion brought forth a statement of the experience of different countries in respect of such participation.

9. Reverting to different types of bureaucracy the Round Table devoted some attention to the question of the development of bureaucracy in political parties. At the outset, clarification was sought as to which elements in the organisation of present day political parties could be described as a bureaucracy. Was it the group of elected office-bearers of the party or, was it the more or less permanent staff of the party receiving regular salaries out of party funds? There was some difference of opinion on this question. While the paid staff obviously provided the bureaucratic element, the view was also held that since the office-bearers exercised power by virtue of the office to which they were elected and since their word had considerable authority, they too acquired the character of a bureaucracy. Here again, differences in the situations prevailing in different countries were pronounced. In some countries the secretariat system had not entered the organisation of the political parties to any considerable extent while, in others, it constituted a very important element in the decision-making process in the political parties.

An interesting question was raised as to the relation between party bureaucracy and governmental bureaucracy. In some countries, it was pointed out, the party in power tended to transform a part of its own bureaucracy into a governmental bureaucracy by appointing party officials to important positions in the government. The result was that the work of the party was, in such a situation, paid for out of the funds provided by the general taxpayers.

The functions of party bureaucracies differed in different countries. No generalization could be made as to the extent of the authority wielded by party officials in the political decisions of those parties.

It was also pointed out that the discussion of this problem need not be confined to cases where a competitive party system prevailed. The problems of political parties existed even in totalitarian states. What was the nature of party bureaucracy in such countries? How was it related to the governmental bureaucracy? Difference of opinion was also expressed on the definition of a party.

To sum up, the Round Table indicated how very necessary it was to probe deeper into the problems arising out of the bureaucratisation of political parties.

10. Finally there was the question of recent developments in public personnel administration. The situations in different countries were explained by the respective participants. Quite interesting developments were seen to be taking place in matters relating to selection, training and discipline of public servants in different countries. The vast scope of economic activities into which governments all over the world were involved, could not fail to have its influence on their personnel management policies. Special emphasis was laid on the question of political activity of civil servants. In particular the question was asked as to what safeguards were being provided for maintaining the political freedom of teachers in Govt. educational institutions. Here too, as in other respects, the practice varied from country to country. But there was an unmistakable awareness of the deeper implications of such questions.

Generally speaking the impression was gathered that there was a good deal of unsettlement in the long established modes of dealing with the problems of personnel management in different countries. There is obviously great scope for a thorough study of the changes which are taking place in this subject.

DISCUSSION

The working paper had raised a number of issues all of which could not be dealt with within the time allotted to its discussion. About half the time allotted for discussion had again to be spent in translating speeches in French and English into the other language, there being no provision for simultaneous translations. In consequence, only a few points were touched upon in the course of the discussion. The most interesting contribution to the debate in the opinion of the present writer was that made by Dr. Thorelli of Sweden who took up the question of "Neutrality". Speaking from the experience of his own country he pointed out how it was possible to permit a very considerable measure of freedom of opinion and expression to civil servants. It was a matter partly of tradition and partly of the institutional structure. Both were favourable to the promotion of political activity, on the part of the civil servant in his country where

the administration was in the hands of agencies responsible collectively to the cabinet and not to individual ministers and where the tradition of personal freedom was strong. It was obviously not correct to equate every British practice with the essence of democracy.

Mr. Crabbe of Belgium in a long intervention tried to define Bureaucracy. But in the end, he came to the astounding conclusion that it was only in the comparatively advanced countries of the West that the phenomenon of Bureaucracy existed; you could not, therefore, speak of a Bureaucracy in under-developed countries. Needless to say the view was challenged. While it was the privilege of scientists to define their concepts, they must proceed on the basis of objective examination of the phenomena under investigation and the distinction made by Mr. Crabbe did not appear tenable. The question of the so-called experts who went out to the so-called under-developed countries had been raised earlier by Prof. Friters of Pakistan. But he somewhat overshot the mark by stating that the Government of India had published the Appleby Report just to advertise the compliments paid by the American expert to that Government. Considering the over-all critical tone of the Appleby Report this statement did not represent the truth and the Congress heard a statement to that effect from the Rapporteur-General which was later quite spontaneously endorsed by the President of the Congress.

CONCLUSION

While the discussion appeared somewhat desultory, the general feeling was that it was for the scholars in different countries to pursue the various points in the working paper in terms of specific projects of research in the field of public administration. As in other subjects discussed at the Congress, there is no doubt that the study of this subject too will receive a further impetus by its inclusion on the agenda of the Congress.

“.....the endurance of organization depends upon the quality of leadership; and that quality derives from the breadth of the morality upon which it rests. High responsibility there must be even in the lowest, the most immoral, organizations; but if the morality to which the responsibility relates is low, the organizations are short-lived. A low morality will not sustain leadership long, its influence quickly vanishes, it cannot produce its own succession.”

—CHESTER I. BARNARD
(in *'The Functions of the Executive'*)

Targets and Stock-taking

S. T. Merani

A GOOD deal has been written about the ideals a Civil Servant should try to achieve. It is no less important to see how far he is, indeed, living up to them. This means a balancing of what has been achieved against what is to be achieved. In other words, there must be a process of defining targets and periodical stock-taking.

This process is found invariably, in one form or other in all well-run organisations—the family, the club, the army, industrial establishments, commercial firms, Government departments, etc.—and is fundamental to their success. The modern concepts of an integrated and balanced human personality and of rational action involve target-setting and assessment of performance in the many and varied fields of the individual man's life, *including his job*.

As the success of the individual in other walks of life depends considerably upon the success he achieves in his “profession”, the individual—particularly the Civil Servant who has a special responsibility for promoting the public good—should, in his own best interest, formulate targets of achievement, set about earnestly to attain them and check periodically on results. Even if the organisation he is working for, has its own targets and appraisal methods, the Civil Servant should fix his *individual* targets and evaluate his performance at regular intervals. Such self-imposed targets and periodic self-assessments will not only enrich the individual personality but also help to create and spread in the Civil Service a new zeal and enthusiasm for a more efficient and substantive performance.

Targets of achievements in the case of industrial and governmental organisations usually take the form of annual appropriations, physical units of output and the like. The targets of achievements which the Civil Servant may set for himself, can be in terms of quantity, *e.g.* the number of cases to be dealt with, inspections carried out, or area covered and also in terms of quality and time taken, or standards of

conduct and behaviour, or all of them. These targets may relate to a day, a week, or a month as the situation demands. Where it is not practicable to define targets in precise and clear terms, they could be broken down into sub-tasks and sub-units—the total of which would give an over-all, though rough and ready, target. Targets of achievements will, obviously, have to change from time to time. They must also be set high enough so that there is an ever-increasing impetus to do better and better.

The periodic assessment of results is essential for finding out *how far* the targets have been actually realised. Stock-taking should, however, not be confined to measuring the 'lag' in the attainment of targets : it should also attempt to explore *why* the actual achievements fall short of the targets. Such stock-taking could be quite revealing : it might indicate that the targets had been set too high; it might disclose faults in the methods and equipment used or the need for acquiring greater skill; it might draw attention to defects in the structure of the organisation, which seriously impeded the individual efforts for increased output, it might even spotlight deficiencies in individual performance or in "work attitudes". Stock-taking if undertaken on these lines, will assuredly help the Civil Servant to take remedial action—to re-define the targets, to step up his performance, to re-orient his behaviour and attitude to work, to improve his skill and methods of work, and to ask for the re-designing of the equipment and of the organisational structure if that is *really* necessary.

Personal stock-taking must, however, essentially be systematic and objective if it is to provide a real stimulus for self-improvement. Its conclusions should be carefully recorded in the diary of the Civil Servant to furnish a basis for corrective measures and to serve as a yardstick for future progress.

Voluntary target-setting and stock-taking have a special significance for Civil Servants who occupy supervisory positions. It is not enough for an officer to see that his subordinates do their work : it is equally, perhaps even more, important for him to ensure that he does his own work honestly and efficiently, and that he does not spare himself for any lapses on his part. It is only when an officer is critical of his own work and tries persistently to

improve his performance that he can inspire his subordinates to do a better job.

Target-setting and stock-taking can thus prove to be very useful tools in the outfit of the Civil Servant for the fulfilment of his dream of being the "Ideal Civil Servant". They would hold before him a promise of honour to himself and his country and equip him better for meeting his responsibilities so that when he finally lays down his office he may truthfully look back on his professional career as a "good job well done".

"The greatest crime the administrator can commit is to be too authoritative, too impatient of criticism and discussion, too quick to resent as disloyalty frank difference of opinion as to policy. Disloyalty arises when decisions have been taken, in lack of energy in implementing them, never in the process through which they are formulated. To treat opposition as something to be crushed or swept aside is to start the insidious process by which candid officials are turned into "Yes-men", creatures who first enquire what will be "liked" by their superiors before formulating their own views, who have lost the taste for honesty when thinking about the affairs of the organisation. Once that process is started it will corrupt a whole undertaking like a leprosy. The direction will be robbed of the greatest contribution the personnel can make to the undertaking, unbiased and fearless statement of the best thought of which they are capable. Enthusiasm will be stifled, ability frustrated and energy turned inwards to concentrate on self-seeking. The administrator who gives way to the temptation to use his authority to suppress rather than to develop the views of his subordinates is committing the sin against the Holy Ghost."

—L. URWICK

(in *'The Elements of Administration'*)

Problems of Government Publicity in India

Shyam Ratna Gupta

IT is the essence of democracy that every citizen should be free to form and to express his own opinions about how his Government is conducting the business of the country. This he cannot do unless it is recognised that, within reasonable limits, he has a right to know not only what has been or is happening, but also what is being planned.

There are three obvious ways in which this right may be realised in practice. First, individual citizens may ask the Government what they want to know. Secondly, the Government might, of its own accord, give to the citizens the information which it thinks might be of interest. Thirdly, the Press, protected by the fundamental right of freedom of expression, might ascertain or anticipate the questions of the citizens and also secure and publish the answers.

The first approach is not very practicable for the individual citizen, although it is being increasingly employed by organised groups of citizens. The demands for information of these organised groups are, however, generally concerned with matters of a strictly sectional interest. The second and the third are the easiest and the most fruitful ways of keeping the citizens informed of governmental activities.

Beginning with the organising of war publicity during World War I, there has slowly grown up in India a network of machinery—both at the Central and State levels—for disseminating information and news among the people. This machinery largely covers the issue of press releases and feature articles, the production and distribution of popular books, pamphlets, folders, posters, broad sheets, documentary films and newsreels, radio broadcasts, exhibitions, and public address systems. The Government has also recently launched an “Integrated Publicity Programme”—through a specially-created field publicity organisation—to evoke people’s support and co-operation in the implementation of the First Five

Year Plan, and "to rouse in the common man a new sense of urgency and duty to the community".

This article is primarily concerned with the problems, difficulties and methods of keeping the citizens informed, through the Press, about the doings of their Governments.

II

Democratic society lives and grows by accepting ideas, by experimenting with them and where necessary by rejecting them. In an ideal world, the Press would always behave in a responsible and constructive manner avoiding dissemination of unverified or untruthful matter and always giving a balanced presentation of news and views. The pressure of competition, however, often tends to a strong affiliation to news and views which may be essentially one-sided and sometimes also to a deterioration of standards by resorting to sensationalism. These tendencies are predominantly in evidence today in most countries of the world.

The history of the Press vis-a-vis the Governments in India presents an interesting variation from the general pattern obtaining in the West. Under the old authoritative regime, the mass of the citizens was engaged in a struggle against the alien Government. The Indian-owned Press was entirely in sympathy with the citizens. Naturally, it tended to emphasise the deficiencies of, and to ignore whatever good there might have been in, the policies and actions of the Government. The Government, on the other hand, looked upon the Indian Press as a nuisance; when they could not ignore it, they tried to suppress it.

With the attainment of independence, Government and the Press have managed to steer a middle course. While the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression except when it comes in the way of national security, parliamentary democracy, public morality or decency, etc. the Indian Press, barring a few exceptions, has shown reasonable discipline and lived up to its proper role of reflecting public opinion, instructing it and giving it proper orientation and guidance.

III

The establishment of a healthy and constructive relationship between the Government and the Press in India has

been assisted by the development of certain institutional arrangements. The Government has evolved a system of giving information to the Press through the State publicity organisations.

At the Centre, this comprises of what is known as the Press Information Bureau, which "is responsible for the proper presentation and interpretation of the policies and activities of the Government of India to the public through the Press". It does so through its news, background, pictorial, feature and reference services to newspapers. Apart from giving factual information, correcting wrong notions and providing a link between State publicity organisations, the Bureau "advises Government on information problems relating to the Press, keeps Government informed of the main trends of public opinion as reflected in the Press, Indian and foreign, through a service of newspaper clippings which is perhaps the largest of its kind in the country and affects liaison between Government and the Press, including correspondents of the foreign Press in India". In addition it supplies "press round-ups", analytical reports, notes and statements on new trends in public opinion as reflected in the newspapers.

The Bureau maintains contact with all the Ministries of the Government of India through its information officers who advise them on their day-to-day publicity problems and arrange for necessary publicity by shaping information in the form suitable to the Press, answering queries, arranging press conferences and interviews and meetings with Ministers and senior officers, organising tours for journalists, and arranging discussions with visiting correspondents. The Bureau also supplies some of its services to all-media organisations of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, publicity organisations of the State Governments and diplomatic missions in India as well as to press attaches with Indian missions abroad. The Bureau's photographic section supplements its services with news pictures in the form of prints or ebonoid blocks, which are available free to the newspapers.

The Bureau's services are supplied to the Press in nine languages—English, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali and Marathi. About 2,300 Indian newspapers and periodicals receive its services. Facilities are arranged for correspondents and editors for securing

accommodation, telephones, priority in air travel, booking seats in trains, hotel accommodation in various parts of India, passport, visa and completion of customs formalities, etc. A press room and library, a photographic collection, and a reference section are maintained for the use of the Press, particularly for accredited correspondents, Indian and foreign, numbering over 120, and accredited photographers and cine-cameramen. With the growing importance of India in international affairs and, consequently, an increasing concentration of foreign correspondents in the capital and elsewhere, the Bureau has lately been endeavouring to meet specialized needs as well.

The Bureau is responsible for publicity in regard to the Armed Forces. This is handled by the Defence Wing of the Bureau. In addition to the normal Press services, the Defence Wing produces pamphlets, organises advertisement and poster campaigns in collaboration with the Advertising Consultant and produces news and feature shorts through its own service cameramen. Furthermore, it serves the defence services through its journals, broadcasts and cultural programmes.

The headquarters of the Bureau are located at New Delhi. It has regional offices at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lucknow, Jullundur and Bangalore, all but the last linked by teleprinter with New Delhi. At the headquarters, each information officer is assigned one or two Ministries for purposes of publicity; while the bigger Ministries such as the Ministry of External Affairs, are looked after by deputy principal information officers. These officers are actively associated with and work for their respective Ministries, generally attend all policy conferences and meetings, and are expected to keep themselves posted with all relevant facts, especially those in which the Press and the public might be interested. In addition, the Principal Information Officer and some deputy principal information officers co-ordinate publicity matters and ensure that publicity of one Ministry does not sound a discordant note in relation to the publicity of other Ministries.

Though these officers work with the Ministries whose publicity they handle, they actually belong to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which supervises their work and professional standards. Thus, the Press Information

Bureau is, on the one hand, a link between the Government and the Press and, on the other, an expert adviser to the Ministries and Departments on publicity matters and also a co-ordinating unit between them.

The Press Information Bureau does not handle India's publicity abroad, which is taken care of by the Ministry of External Affairs. That Ministry has a special External Publicity Division, with a number of Press Attaches stationed abroad in important Embassies and a central office in New Delhi. The Division collects and releases reactions of foreign press on India and adapts the Bureau's services for use abroad, thus "feeding" its foreign units in respect of developments at home.

The pattern of Government publicity organisation at the State level is somewhat similar. Most of the States have a separate department of information and public relations, headed by a "director" of what is variously called 'public relations', 'public information' or simply 'publicity'. The "director" has two or more "deputy" or "assistant" directors. One of the "deputy" or "assistant" directors is generally responsible for providing information to the Press about the activities of the various Government departments and agencies and for keeping the State Government apprised of the major developments as mirrored in the Press. In this, he is assisted, as at the Centre, by a group of information officers who, between them, cover the several State departments.

The State Directorates of Information or Public Relations usually have a special branch for covering district and local administrations. There exists for each district or division a public relations officer or publicity officer, whose main job is to promote the publicity, in the Press, of the Government's activities at the district and local levels as well as to create and develop public opinion in support of the Government's normal programmes of welfare and development. For achieving the latter objective, media other than the Press, *i.e.* the film, the radio, dramas, pamphlets, etc. are frequently used. The limited resources of the States—with respect both to finance and personnel—do not at present admit of the separation of press publicity from publicity through other media.

IV

The setting up of a separate press publicity organisation—at the Centre as well as in the States—was not by itself sufficient for developing a healthy and cordial relationship with the Press : it was found equally essential to employ and develop information personnel of high professional standard and integrity.

At the Centre, all information officers are, as a rule, recruited on the advice of the Union Public Service Commission and from the ranks of persons who have already some knowledge and experience of journalism. The same is more or less true of information personnel at the State level. Though there does not exist any special programme for organising post-entry training for information personnel, they receive intensive training on the job and thus develop *attitudes* and *outlooks* which in the long run help substantially in overcoming the many difficulties which they meet in their day-to-day work.

Some of the major obstacles which information officers have to face, come, surprisingly enough, from the administrative departments or agencies whose publicity they cover. There are many administrators who start with the assumption that the Press would avidly absorb any reports about governmental activities, since the Government, they imagine, are the 'biggest' news today. According to them, securing publicity for State activities should be child's play and they do not understand why the State's publicity organisation should have any 'problems' at all. Indeed they look upon the Information Services as superfluous busy-bodies and would rather prepare and duplicate their own hand-outs and send them direct to the agencies and correspondents.

Another type of administrator inclines to be over-cautious and would always prefer to avoid publicity about anything connected with his work. The information officer has to struggle hard to get from him even the information which the public have a right to obtain. There is also the opposite type, happily not too numerous, who are excessively anxious for publicity—either personal or governmental—and who hold that what they think interesting and important must also be of interest and importance to everyone else. The information officer has a still harder struggle to check such exuberance.

Very often, therefore, the information officer has to start by 'educating' his 'masters' about the true role and nature of government publicity. And he must have patience, tact, and the ability to "sell" his own point of view.

A really "live" information officer must combine in himself the three-fold roles of a watchdog, friend and guide—a watchdog on behalf of the Government, a friend to the Press and a guide to the people. He also has to be something of an artist, to create out of a mass of usually dull and abstruse material something which will catch the eye and appeal to the heart and, at the same time, inform and educate.

If some of the "problems" of Government publicity arise at the source, there are others which arise at the receiving end. Many journalists regard information officers as renegades who have chosen to run away from the storms and stresses of a highly competitive profession to the safe anchorage of official patronage. In the eyes of some journalists, the publicity organisation is scarcely better than a super post office and an information officer a nuisance to be put up with in their eternal quest for news. What is given officially and willingly tends always to be suspected, at least of not being the whole truth: the news-gatherers continually try, therefore, to by-pass the publicity organisation to get some "inside" information or an exclusive scoop.

V

Problems also arise, irrespective of the originating and receiving ends, out of the nature of the information itself. The press stories released by information officers fall into three broad groups. There is, first of all, the "constructive story" which throws a favourable light on a particular field of governmental activity—be it of progress in an administrative, educational or social field in the country—or of the triumph of a policy at home and abroad. There is then the "negative story" which shows up the lapses and shortcomings of the administration. In India there is also a third type of story, perhaps best described as "appointments story", which mainly indulges in speculations on appointments, promotions and demotions of officers in the public services.

The attitude of the administrator and the journalist to the three categories of stories mentioned above differs in

each case. The administrator looks at the constructive story as a good one, which, in his view, should be splashed in the Press. But the newspaper might not fully agree with this view and might be chary of accepting all the claims made in it or, worse still, suspect that it overlooks altogether the negative side of the picture.

In the case of a "negative story", the attitude of the administrator and journalist is reversed. While the administrator would naturally like to balance decline against progress, failure against success, the newspapers—at least those which thrive on the vigour or virulence of their criticism of the Government—would endeavour to "play up" the negative as compared to the constructive aspect of the story. Moreover, to the administrator sensationalism is a bugbear, a thing to be eschewed at all costs; for the newspapers it is one of the greatest temptations of their profession.

The speculative "appointments story" stands in a class by itself. It is always a good "box item" for the newspapers—even, perhaps the prelude to a possible "scoop" through the publicised personality. The readers, too, probably like such a story, for it is, after all, a sort of "success story", or the opposite of it—something that has some "human interest" in it. The administrators, however, regard such stories as not merely in bad taste but also an infringement of the code of conduct prescribed for public services. It has been said that "the cardinal virtues of a Civil Servant in a democracy are integrity, devotion to duty, and anonymity"; and the last is by no means the least!

What does the information officer do in each case? Faced with these diametrically opposed reactions of the administrator and the journalist to the three types of stories, how would he satisfy both?

Take the case of a "constructive story". Such a story often comes to the information officer in the form of an abstruse document written in "officialese", seldom precise and sometimes deliberately hedged with qualifying clauses. To prepare "copy" out of such material, the language has to be simplified and the "news angle" brought into prominence. Whether a "constructive story" secures publication depends as much on its style as on its contents. The next job is to "time" the story. On a "lean" or a "heavy" day, a

particular story might secure too much or too little publicity. It might be crowded out, or get better display than it deserves. Stories released before 3 p.m. and in the first three days of the week generally stand a better chance of publication than those released later in the evenings and towards the week-end. If nation-wide publicity is desired, some time has to be allowed to the Indian language papers for translation.

The information officer also has to acquire enough knowledge of the subject of the story, so as to be prepared to answer any questions the Press representatives may ask. He might furthermore be called upon to supply additional material to specialists interested in that subject.

"Blue books" and Government reports which are essentially a form of constructive story, are far from popular with the daily Press if given in the form in which they are issued. The information officer facilitates the work of the daily newspapers by condensing technical material and translating it into a language easily understood by newspaper readers. To the newspaper offices—always working under pressure of time—this service is of no mean value.

Negative stories, *e.g.* calamities, riots, disturbances, scandals, etc. which can be attributed, even if only remotely, to failure of Government policy or administration, constitute "big news" which the administrator would gladly suppress if he could but the Press would like to ferret out by every possible means. Here, the information officer's role is exceedingly difficult. He has to handle the story with tact and diplomacy. To put up a "closed shop" sign in such circumstances would merely encourage publication of distorted reports, which it would be unseemly to contradict since contradictions might not only be ignored but might also actually give rise to other unfounded reports. In such cases a plain, unvarnished account setting out briefly and lucidly the details of any untoward happening, serves best to satisfy the Press and keep down speculations.

Negative stories, unfounded or exaggerated, frequently appear in the Press "without benefit" of the information officer's assistance. The question arises, then, whether any official denials or clarifications should issue. This is not an easy task. To ignore the story might be construed as a tacit admission; to contradict it may only start further

wild speculation. The good information officer first gets the full facts and so drafts the official version as to bring out the most constructive aspects, without misrepresenting or suppressing the truth.

The "appointments story" places the information officer in an embarrassing situation. There are several stages in the finalisation of important appointments and even if some news-hawk has managed to get the correct information and gives it premature publicity, the information officer cannot confirm the news to other enquirers. When the story is purely speculative, the situation is still worse. The information officer cannot deny the speculative report—in case it does turn out to be true in the end. His best attitude to all such stories is to observe a sphinx-like silence, or to say "Ha Ha ! you wait and see".

VI

Many "*in camera*" conferences—far too many, some would say—are held at various levels in Government circles in order to hammer out policy. It is not easy to keep the convening of a conference a secret, especially when a number of persons are invited to participate in it. When the Press gets hold of the news, the information officer has a thorny problem to solve. The press representatives are naturally anxious to find out all they can, and searching questions are hurled at the information officer. If he knows anything about it, he is torn, as it were, between his loyalty to the traditions of journalism and to his respect for official rules. The best he can do is to strike a balance and prevail upon the authorities to reveal to the Press some bare facts about the conference, for instance, its duration, the names of persons participating in it and similar other details the disclosure of which is not detrimental to the interests of the conference.

A similar situation arises when the information officer is inundated with questions from press representatives about a subject on which nothing can be divulged to the Press either because that might jeopardise national security or because of its fluid state. The press representatives, known for their tenacity and obstinacy, never take "no" for an answer, and it falls to the lot of the information officer to keep them in good humour. Sometimes it is possible to give some information "off the record", putting the pressmen on their

honour not to reveal it prematurely. Such a generous, confident approach towards the Press, making it feel that it is a worthy co-worker in the task of national progress, pays handsome dividends. Rarely, if ever, has the Press betrayed the faith reposed in it.

The information officer has often to cover up minor lapses on the part of the newspapers and the administration. It will be too much to expect infallibility from the Press or the State, both of which have to depend, after all, on human beings subject to human error. Now and again, an irate administrator calls upon the information officer to explain why a particular report had been misinterpreted by a paper and demands that a correction be published in the same paper. Besides the fact that, according to the unwritten laws of journalism, no story should be repeated unless it is given an entirely new shape, the least suggestion of official pressure is as thoroughly unpalatable to newspapers as having to publish corrections. On these occasions, the information officer must unflinchingly defend the traditional freedom of the Press—the freedom to allow the newspapers to voice their own conclusions. Thus the information officer must, if necessary, act as a buffer between the Press and the State, absorbing the shocks from both sides and yet keeping a serene temper.

VII

This article presents the practical problems of Government publicity as they are faced by the information officer working in the State publicity organisation evolved in India: it does not attempt to examine some of the wider, more theoretical issues dealt with recently by the Press Commission in their report. A discussion of these may well form the subject-matter of another article, preferably by someone who is neither a journalist, nor an administrator, nor a link between them *i.e.* an information officer.

It would suffice, in conclusion, to observe that the Governments in India have, in recent years, shown a remarkable awareness of the useful part which the Press can play in a parliamentary democracy. There is also a growing realisation that the accelerated tempo of development activities in the country calls for greater attention to press publicity as an instrument of information and education.

A fuller use, by the Government, of the Press as a medium for gauging public opinion and reactions, as a channel for locating public complaints and tensions and as an agency for maintaining stable and healthy relations with the people, would obviously be a further step in the right direction.

"Technicians must learn than explaining 'why' to the people is generally as important...as 'what' is done. To induce the action of laymen...'why' is almost always the key. Experts and managers at central business or government headquarters, isolated and remote, tend to become impatient of making explanations to the people. From impatience it is a short step to a feeling of superiority, and then to irresponsibility or dictation. And irresponsibility or dictation to the people, whether by experts or politicians or business managers or public administrators, is a denial of democracy."

—DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

(in *'TVA, Democracy on the March'*)

"The preservation and strengthening of our federal system depend in the last analysis on the self-restraint and responsibility as well as the wisdom, of our actions as citizens. If we are not willing to leave some room for diversity of policy, to tolerate some lack of uniformity in standards, even in many matters which are of national concern and about which we may feel strongly, the essence of federalism, even if not the legal fiction, will have been lost. We must also realize that it can be lost, or its vitality sapped, by nonuse of State and local initiative as well as by overuse of National authority. We have therefore as citizens a responsibility to see to it that those legitimate needs of society that could be met by timely State and local action do not by default have to be met by the National Government."

—COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL
RELATIONS

(in their final report submitted to U. S.
Congress on June 20, 1955)

EDITORIAL NOTES

WITH the presentation of each new issue comes growing confidence that the *Journal* is serving a useful purpose. Along with it comes also a deeper appreciation and gratitude for all the assistance so generously forthcoming from those who are interested in the study and improvement of Public Administration, and of whom the contributors to this issue form a representative sample. The law-makers and the political administrators are represented by Shri N.V. Gadgil and Shri R.K. Patil, neither of whom needs any introduction to our readers; Prof. Kogekar's voice is backed by strength of academic authority; the professional administrators like Shri R.C. Dutt and Shri Indarjit Singh have written about problems on which they are personally engaged and to the solution of which they are making a significant contribution. A special welcome must also be extended to Mr. Edwin Samuel and Mr. Shiro Okabe who have long since attained international standing and continue to be actively concerned with the study and teaching of Public Administration. Coming as they do from Israel and Japan, they encompass between them the whole of the Eastern World.

We trust there is enough volume and variety of material in this issue to inform, interest and stimulate the readers. Particular attention is invited to the suggestion made by Shri Patil at the conclusion of his article. Indeed, we shall be glad to have the reactions of individual readers to the views expressed in any of the contributions published in any of our issues. One of the avowed objects of the *Journal* is to provide a forum for discussion.

As promised in our last issue, we now present the first instalment of "news of administrative interest" from India and abroad. The future utility of this feature will be greatly enhanced if readers will kindly draw our attention to any interesting development in any part of the world, which comes to their notice. A simple intimation will ordinarily suffice; we would gladly take over the task of collecting and verifying the details,

—Editor

News from India and Abroad

1. UNITED KINGDOM

Employment of Men and Women over Forty

In the face of the changing age distribution of the population and the need to make fullest use of the country's manpower, the British Government have decided to employ older men and women. Special competitions, open to non-Civil Servants and temporary Civil Servants will be held once or twice a year to recruit men and women between the ages of 40 and 60 to certain established (*i.e.* pensionable) posts in the Clerical Class of the Home Civil Service. Men and women between 40 and 60 will also be able to enter the Clerical Assistant grade as unestablished Civil Servants.

Rise in Pay of Civil Servants

Under the awards of the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal announced on August 5, 1955, more than 500,000 civil servants and post-office workers would receive increases in pay, back-dated to July 1, amounting to £15 million a year.

Training in Revenue Administration and Economic Development

The British Council will organise, from 16th October to 17th December 1955, a course on the administration and collection of central and local Government revenues, in collaboration with H.M. Treasury, Revenue Departments and local government financial departments.

The Council also proposes to hold in the first ten weeks of 1956 (1st January to 10th March) a course on the problems of economic development, which is expected to be of interest to senior administrators and economists concerned with finance, commerce, industry, agriculture and communications from countries which are in course of development and other countries facing similar problems.

2. U. S. A.

Establishment of a Senior Civil Service Group of Career Administrators

In their report on "Personnel and Civil Service" submitted to Congress in February last, the (Hoover) Commission on the Organisation of the Executive Branch of the Government recommended the creation of a new "Senior" Civil Service group, consisting of "career" administrators. They would be carefully selected by a Senior Civil Service Board from all departments and agencies, solely on the basis of proved competence, and would be "neutral in politics" though they would work under the direction of non-career (political) executives. The Commission further recommended that the "career" administrators should be given a personal status, rank and salary which they would carry along with them to whatever posts they hold from time to time.

The main object of the proposed reform is to have at hand in the federal Government, a group of highly qualified administrators whose competence, integrity and faithfulness have been amply demonstrated; who will make it easier for the non-career executives to discharge their responsibilities; and who will add to the smoothness, effectiveness and economy of governmental operations. A secondary but related object is to make the Civil Service more attractive to men and women of high competence.

Cost of Red Tape

In another report entitled "Paper Work Management, Part II" issued in July last, the Hoover Commission observed that much of the information required of business and the public by the Government in the "wilderness" of 4,700 questionnaires and reports was simply not needed. The Commission found that a study group or "task force", set up by it, has been able to secure simplification or elimination of 26 forms and questionnaires. This cut in paper work would, it is estimated, save the Government \$5 million and the industries over \$10 million a year. The Commission further felt that if the work of the task force was continued by the Government, it could lead to an additional saving of \$100 million a year. Elimination and simplification of required Federal reports, it added, could be achieved without depriving the Government of essential data.

Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, headed by Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, which was appointed by the United States Government in July 1953, submitted its final report to the President in June last. The report is divided into two parts: Part I covers evolution of the American federal system, the role of the states, national responsibilities and co-operative relations, financial aspects of the American federal system and federal grants-in-aid. Part II discusses intergovernmental functional responsibilities in certain specific fields, viz. civil aviation, civil defence and urban vulnerability, education, employment security, highways, housing and urban renewal, natural disaster relief, natural resources and conservation, public health, vocational rehabilitation, and welfare. Appendices contain ancillary material and the reports of study committees and members of the staff of the Commission.

The Commission has recommended the establishment of a permanent agency—in the nature of a staff aid—for devoting continuing attention to problems of intergovernmental relationships. The agency should consist of (i) a Special Assistant in the Executive Office of the President, to serve as the President's chief aide and adviser on State and local relationships, who would also act as a co-ordinating officer; and (ii) an Advisory Board on Intergovernmental Relations to be appointed by the President after such consultation as he deems appropriate.

Rise in Pay of Federal Workers

The Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives has approved a 7.5% increase in the pay of more than 1 million Federal classified employees including employees of Congress, the Federal courts and the

Foreign Service. The President has given his assent to the bill embodying these proposals. The President has also signed the new Postal Field Service Compensation Act, giving an average pay increase of 8.1 % to 500,000 postal employees.

Removal of Upper Age Limits on Federal Civil Service Commission Examinations

With effect from the 1st July, 1955, the U.S. Civil Service Commission has in pursuance of a rider on the bill authorising the Commission's appropriations for the U.S. financial year 1956, removed all maximum age limits in respect of its current examinations. The minimum age limits, however, remain unaffected.

Personnel Council for New York City

In pursuance of the recommendation made by Dr. Luther Gulick in the "Report of Mayors' Committee on Management Survey", a municipal Personnel Council has been set up in New York City. The Council consists of personnel officers from all city departments and agencies. The main objects of the Council are : generally to obtain the benefits which good personnel management can contribute to an improved public service; to provide a consultation and communication system for the exchange of ideas and experiences in personnel management; to serve as a testing ground for new programmes, rules, and ideas; to aid in the development of organization for personnel management in city agencies; to obtain uniform understanding and interpretation of the civil service laws, rules and regulations, standards, and programmes; and to advise the Department of Personnel on proposed or existing policies, practices, and procedures.

Courses in Comparative Constitutional Problems : India & United States

As part of the curriculum of the LL.B. degree, Stanford University, California, has started a seminar on "Comparative Constitutional Problems : India & United States". The seminar would be given by Associate Professor L.W. Ebb who has recently returned to the Stanford University after spending a year in India on a Ford-Foundation study grant. The object of this seminar is to study the constitutional framework and problems of foreign federations, as typified primarily by modern India, against the background of American constitutional doctrines. Major provisions of the Indian Constitution and key opinions of the Indian Supreme Court will be analysed. Selected topics will be drawn primarily from the fields of (1) federal-state relationships, particularly as they bear on the effective implementation of plans for the economic development of India; and (2) the relationship of the individual to the state.

Emphasis on Public Relations in Civil Service Examinations

The Civil Service Commission of the City of Seattle has adopted a new procedure to emphasize the necessity of good manners on the part of public employees. *Special Notes* have been written and inserted in examination announcements for Transit Operators, Police Officers, and employees in the Lighting, Water, and Engineering Departments. The examination questions

themselves are also framed to test candidates' abilities in public relations. The Commission believes these statements on courtesy will set high standards for new employees and remind present employees of their role as public servants. The *Special Notes* encourage city employees to make the most of their opportunity to arouse the citizen's pride in his city. Following is an example of a *Special Note* :

POLICE DEPARTMENT

Special Note: "As a City employee and a member of 'Seattle's Finest', an elite service, you will be a personal representative of the government of the City of Seattle. The extent of your courtesy, tact and efficiency will show our people and our many visitors, the value and spirit of our Municipal Government. Every citizen of this city will be your employer and you, in turn, must display a real professional attitude in all public, as well as departmental contacts. A Policeman and a Policewoman in a metropolitan city necessarily must conduct themselves on a high plane. They are part of the team of law-enforcement employees, consisting of police officers, judges and prosecutors, and much is expected of them."

3. CHINA

Payment in Kind to Civil Servants

The State Council has announced that from July 1, 1955, Civil Servants throughout China will be paid their salaries in food, clothing, housing and other necessities—and not in money. Government employees who might suffer from the change would be given cash subsidies from welfare funds.

4. PAKISTAN

Institute of Public and Business Administration

With the assistance of the International Co-operation Administration of the United States, an Institute of Public and Business Administration has been set up in the University of Karachi, with Mr. Henry F. Goodnow as Public Administration Adviser. The main object of the Institute is to provide educational and research facilities in public administration and business management, including a two-year course for advanced studies leading to Master's degrees in these subjects.

Pakistan Civil Service

Since the Partition as many as 143 officers have been recruited through the Pakistan Public Service Commission to the cadre of the Civil Service of Pakistan which has replaced the former Indian Civil Service and the Indian Political Service, besides a number of other officers taken in the various departments of the Government. About 70 candidates out of a total of 81 qualified candidates were appointed to the various Central Superior Services on the results of the Central Superior Service Examination held in January, 1954. Efforts are also being made, as far as possible, to secure representation of all Provinces in the Central Services without undermining efficiency.

A Judicial Branch of the Civil Service of Pakistan has recently been formed.

Training Schemes

It has been decided to set up a school for training of the candidates recruited on the results of the Ministerial Services Examination. A Director of Training has been appointed and a suitable school building is being constructed at an estimated cost of Rs. 62,600/-. The training school is expected to start functioning during the current year.

Pakistan Civil Benevolent Fund

The scheme for affording relief to the low-paid employees of the Central Government in cases of distress, which was so far confined to the employees at Karachi, has been extended to such staff at other places also. A sum of Rs. 50,000/- has been sanctioned by the Government for this purpose.

5. INDIA

Ministry of Iron & Steel

In order to secure close and undivided attention to the problems of developing and expanding the iron and steel industry, the Government of India set up, on June 15, 1955, a new Ministry—the Ministry of Iron and Steel—to deal with (i) Government industrial undertakings for the production of iron and steel, and (ii) Government-owned foundries.

Department of Company Law Administration

To cope with the increased responsibilities which will be thrown upon Government by the legislation for Company Law reform, recently enacted by Parliament, the Government of India have created a Department of Company Law Administration, headed by a full-time Secretary to Government, which will function as a separate and self-contained part of the Ministry of Finance. With the transfer to this Department of other related items of work, it will now deal with the following subjects :—

- (i) Administration of the Indian Companies Act;
- (ii) Control of capital issues;
- (iii) Chartered accountancy;
- (iv) Stock exchanges;
- (v) Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, and Rehabilitation Finance Administration.

Administrative Vigilance Division

While it has always been recognised that each Ministry and Department of the Government of India must hold itself responsible for maintaining the purity of administration and the integrity of its personnel, it was found that these matters were not receiving prompt and adequate attention. The Government of India have, therefore, set up an Administrative Vigilance Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs, whose functions will be to

maintain close liaison with Ministries and Departments, to provide leadership and technical assistance and to co-ordinate preventive and punitive measures for preserving integrity. Each Ministry and Department has nominated one of its own officers to function as its Vigilance Officer. Under the control and with the support of Secretaries and Heads of Departments, these Vigilance Officers will review the organisation and procedures to locate vulnerable points and initiate prompt action for dealing with persons whose integrity there are good grounds to doubt.

Enhancement of Financial Powers of Ministries and Heads of Departments

The Government of India have substantially enhanced the financial powers delegated to Ministries and Heads of Departments in respect of the creation of temporary posts and expenditure on grants-in-aid, contingencies and stores. Without previous concurrence of the Finance Ministry, Ministries can now create posts, not higher than Class I Posts, on the Senior Class I scale or a Secretariat post, not above that of an Under Secretary, up to two years both on their own establishment and other establishments under their control. Similarly, Heads of Departments can create temporary posts in Class II, Class III and Class IV Services up to two years both on their own establishment and other establishments under their control.

As regards expenditure on contingencies and stores, Ministries can now sanction non-recurring expenditure *without limit* subject to the overall budget allotment or availability of funds by re-appropriation. They can also sanction recurring expenditure up to Rs. 1,000/- per annum in each case. Petty local purchases of stationery and stores can now be made up to an overall limit of Rs. 5,000/- by Ministries and Rs. 2,000/- by Heads of Departments.

Committee on Subordinate Legislation

The Committee on Subordinate Legislation submitted its third report to Parliament in May last. The Committee was constituted by the Speaker in December, 1953 to recommend ways and means for ensuring parliamentary supervision and control on the exercise, by the Government, of the rule-making powers delegated by Parliament through various enactments.

The Committee has suggested that all rules should be laid on the table of the House for 30 days before their final publication, that they should be subject to modifications by the House, and that as far as possible they should be in simple language. Suitable provisions on these lines should be included in the future bills which might seek to delegate power to make rules. In this connection, the Committee drew attention to the Estate Duties (Controlled Companies) Rules and felt that some of these rules should have been included in the parent Act, since they made provisions of substantive character. Similarly, the Committee considered that power given under the Indian Tariff Act to levy export duty on an article not included in the second schedule to the Act was of the nature of power to levy taxation on anything—a power of taxation which should not be vested in the Government by delegated authority and should be given only in regard to specific articles exhaustively stated in the schedule to the Acts.

University Degree as a Condition for Recruitment to Public Services

A Committee was set up in April last by the Central Government to examine how far and at what levels the possession of a University Degree is necessary for recruitment to Public Services. Other terms of reference of the Committee are : to consider the type of tests which should be instituted to assess the relative merits of candidates in an objective manner in the absence of a University Degree; and to consider measures to ensure that the numbers of candidates competing for posts and services under Government are not wastefully large.

The Committee is headed by Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. After studying the replies to a detailed questionnaire, received from interested organisations and individuals, the Committee is now holding its sittings in different parts of the country.

O & M in Rajasthan

The State Government of Rajasthan have created a new Department of Methods and Organisation, on the lines of the Central O & M Division at New Delhi.

Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in Delhi

The Delhi State Government have set up a nine-man Committee of legal experts to draw up a scheme for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. The Committee with Shri Teja Singh, former Chief Justice of PEPSU as Chairman, is expected to go into the matter thoroughly, examine its financial implications, and lay down how the scheme should be put into practice by stages.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERLY REPORT

I. Research Project

The Institute has started a research project on Municipal Administration in the Delhi State. The project is divided into five stages. The first stage, which is expected to be completed by the close of the year, covers a descriptive study of the organisation and functioning of the New Delhi Municipal Committee. The scope of the study will, in the subsequent stages, be extended to the Delhi Municipal Committee and other areas comprising what may be called the Delhi metropolitan region. Shri Din Dayal Sharma, Secretary, New Delhi Municipal Committee, is supervising the day-to-day work of the project while the Director of the Institute is providing the necessary technical guidance and advice.

II. Training in Public Administration

Plans are now being finalised for starting a short training course in collaboration with the Central Secretariat Training School. The object of this course will be to give special training and insight into the principles and procedures of personnel management. Ministries and Departments will be asked to nominate officials, who are, or are proposed to be placed, in charge of "establishment work", to attend the course. In the light of the experience gained, the question of organising a course of similar training for officers of the Finance, Budget and Administrative (*i.e.* housekeeping) branches will also be considered.

III. Library

During the quarter under review, the number of books and publications in the Library has increased from 800 to 1,200. The Library now contains a good representative collection of selected publications on Public Administration. It also receives 74 periodicals—30 on subscription, 39 in exchange for the Institute's Journal and 5 free of cost. A catalogue of the books available in the Library will be published shortly.

Under the Wheat Loan Educational Exchange programme a request has been addressed, on behalf of the Institute, to the Ministry of Education to secure from the U.S.A. books and other technical documentation on Public Administration, worth \$1300.

IV. International Contacts

Oxford Round Table : The Director was deputed by the Executive Council to represent the Institute at the Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences held at Oxford from July 10 to 15, 1955. The meeting was attended by over 140 representatives from 44 different countries. The Director was thus enabled to establish close personal contact with leading personalities in the field of Public Administration. He was also able, on different occasions, during the discussions at the Round Table, to explain the lines on which thinking and practice are developing in India in regard to many of the urgent problems of Public Administration. Particular interest was shown in the forms of management which are being tried out in India with a view to achieving a working balance between operational flexibility and accountability to the Legislature, in the running of public enterprises.

Public Administration Institutes Abroad : The Institute has entered into arrangements with 25 foreign institutes and universities for mutual exchange of information, books, reports and other publications, without payment.

V. Building Programme

The Government of India have sanctioned a plot of land measuring 6 acres in the Indraprastha Estate for the building of the Institute. Steps are being taken to secure possession of the land at an early date. The Building Advisory Committee of the Institute at its last meeting held on the 6th August, 1955, finalised the recommendations regarding the selection of a firm of architects.

VI. Regional Branches and Memberships

A Regional Branch of the Institute was formally inaugurated at Bombay on the 27th August, 1955, by

Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Governor of Bombay. The office-bearers of the Regional Branch are as follows :

President : Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab,
Governor of Bombay.

Chairman : Shri M.D. Bhansali, I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary,
Government of Bombay.

Secretary {
 & { Shri N.S. Pardasani.
Treasurer }

Members { 1. Shri D.S. Bakhle, I.C.S.
 of the { 2. Prof. S.V. Kogekar.
Executive { 3. Prof. K.P. Mukerji.
Committee { 4. Shri V.L. Gidwani, I.C.S.

Regional Branches in West Bengal and Bihar are expected to be set up shortly.

✓ The ordinary membership of the Institute as on the 30th September, 1955, was 584. There are at present 30 corporate members. In addition, there are 150 regular subscribers to the Indian Journal of Public Administration.

“Planned democracy cannot be the creation of abstract theorists. It must spring from the actual premises under the guidance of statesmen endowed with insight and imagination..... The ultimate test of a competent administrative organization for a planned democracy will be its capacity to produce new ideas.”

A. N. HOLCOMBE

(in ‘Government in a Planned Democracy’)

BOOK REVIEWS

RAJYA KARBHAR VICHAR; NARAHAR VISHNU GADGIL.
Poona, Chitrashala Press, 1955. 412p. Rs. 10.

This is the third of a series of four Marathi publications on political and administrative subjects planned by Shri N. V. Gadgil, M.P., who has long experience of public life, of parliamentary membership and of ministerial office. The first two books, published respectively in 1945 and 1951, dealt with Principles of Politics and with Political Organisation. The present publication treats the subject from the standpoint of Public Administration. The fourth one, which is to follow, will deal with law. That this series as a whole, and in particular the present publication, is the first comprehensive and systematic attempt in India at producing political literature on a high academic level is indeed its main claim to public attention. As the practice of studying important academic subjects through regional languages grows, the utility of such literature will be crucial. Both Shri Gadgil and the Marathi-reading public deserve to be congratulated upon the fact that for such an important subject as the Theory and Practice of Government a trilogy of high level works is already available.

The general and theoretical contents of the present publication have been based on well-known works. As such they are both exhaustive and informative. The difficulty of preparing technical phrases in Marathi to convey meanings which long practice has attached to certain words in English is indeed very great. Ultimately usage among writers and speakers can alone evolve a common and easily comprehensible phraseology. The attempts made by Shri Gadgil in this respect are courageous. For one not knowing English a fresh reading of the book is likely to be insufficiently illuminating on account of these specially created phrases and the somewhat involved constructions to which they give use. But at this stage, this plight is somewhat unavoidable. As the subject-matter of the book passes into normal discussion in the class-room, the press and the platform, a more easily intelligible mode of learned speech will doubtless develop. This is one of the educative advantages which will flow from conducting public administration, at all levels and in all forms, in regional languages.

The characteristic merit of Shri Gadgil's work lies in the large measure in which he has drawn on his first-hand experience of public life and administration. Almost every chapter bears the impress of this realistic touch. Prominent mention may, however, be made of Chapters 13, 15 and 16, and 20, dealing respectively with concentration of authority, services and planning. These are very topical themes not only in India but in all modern States. What Shri Gadgil has to say on these subjects is a study in "real-politik". Speaking about concentration (p.186), Shri Gadgil distinguishes between departments and ministries, and reveals the extent to which the ministries are really responsible for what pass in the public as the achievements or failures of departments. On the other hand, speaking about the unity of command or authority (p.189), he points out how in practice a decision which purports to emanate from a single authority is, in fact, based on and

moulded by the large number of consultants, advisers and assistants through whom it has to pass before reaching the final stage of choice.

Shri Gadgil is no friend of the "Spoils System", which he condemns. He is, however, conscious of the essential need to have a devoted and efficient staff to promote the large measures of social reconstruction now undertaken in India. He has voiced (p.214) a fear similar to the one which Laski had expressed before the Socialist Government came into power in U.K. Laski had felt, as Shri Gadgil seems to feel now, that a service composed mainly of members of the well-to-do classes and brought up in traditions of conservative rule will not carry out the purposes of a socialist government with a dispassionate or honest devotion. The present reviewer had criticised Laski's prognostications, voiced in his 'The State in Theory and Practice', as unfounded, as indeed they have actually proved to be. The same must be said about Shri Gadgil's views regarding the Indian services, which have shown an obvious readiness to carry out the purposes of the national State, with at least the same devotion and efficiency with which they carried out the behests of the foreign bureaucratic State. Not only the traditions of the service but a sharing in the progressive thought currents in the country are the normal props of a high administrative performance, especially in the cause of social progress promoted through state agencies.

The whole subject of an appropriate organization for planning in a Federal State, such as India, is at present under serious consideration among scholars as well as among administrators. What Shri Gadgil has to say about the supreme planning authority in India is, therefore, interesting. "In the Government of India", says Shri Gadgil (p.132), "there is an Economic Committee of the Cabinet consisting of members of the Planning Commission and some cabinet ministers. This Committee is responsible for co-ordination. In the opinion of the author, this arrangement is not quite satisfactory. The business of this Committee is conducted in a perfunctory (superficial?) manner. Some of the ministers are not qualified to undertake a comprehensive and detailed consideration; some have not the time to do so. Co-ordination involves a full comprehension of the objective, a knowledge of priorities and a determination to use all available resources in the most effective manner. A discriminating, comprehensive and realistic approach is necessary for this purpose. Only a master mind can bring about co-ordination in planning." Planning in a democracy is a very difficult, almost a challenging, problem of our times. It is obvious that not all bodies set up in representative, especially parliamentary, democracies, are quite suited to the functional necessities of social planning. All the same too much concentration of functions and power, even in wise and trusted hands, has to be avoided, if the essential values of democratic life are to be preserved. The practical limitations indicated by Shri Gadgil will no doubt be of interest in regulating the future course of planning administration in India.

—D. G. Karve

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BRITAIN; G. A. CAMPBELL. London, Penguin Book, 1955. 383p. illus. 3s. 6d.

A HISTORY OF RED TAPE; SIR JOHN CRAIG. London, Macdonald & Evans, 1955. 211p. 18s.

We have not had in India, strangely enough, any comprehensive examination of our Civil Service system for over forty years, though great constitutional, political and social changes have taken place meanwhile, and other countries like England and the United States of America and France, where such changes have been comparatively smaller, have had one or more such enquiries with reforms following on their reports. Accounts of systems and reforms abroad have, therefore, a special value for India as likely to stimulate thought on our problems and so, perhaps, hasten the day of the appointment of a Commission on the Civil Services in this country. The two books under notice cannot be said to be works of the first importance on the British Civil Service; but they are useful descriptions of the system, Mr. Campbell's book as an account of it as it works today, and Sir John Craig's as one on its historical background, and as such both are well worth reading.

Mr. Campbell's book is certainly the more valuable of the two. He has served twenty years in the Civil Service, and though his work was mainly concerned with publications, films and exhibitions, he gives in his book a comprehensive account of the Civil Service in Britain today. History, structure, methods of recruitment, the conditions, standards and influence of the service, the different Departments and their organisation, the stages of financial control, delegated legislation, administrative tribunals, ministers and their relations to the services as well as to Parliament—these are all clearly described in the twenty chapters and nearly four hundred pages of the book, a good value for its price of three shillings and six pence. The book is not a critical examination of the Civil Service in a changing state like the studies by Finer or Greaves nor does it attempt to describe from the inside the work and temper of mind and disposition of a higher civil servant in Britain, as Dale has done. The merit of the book is in its comprehensiveness and up-to-dateness (the Crichton Down case is fully given, for example), as well as in the great amount of factual detail it contains. But Mr. Campbell can also be occasionally critical, as when he indicates his opinion of the out-moded character of many of the Treasury checks and balances, or of the tendency among officials to think too much of their prestige and comfort as well as to show themselves occasionally careless and intolerant towards the public.

Mr. Campbell's Whitehall officials do not, like the fountains in Trafalgar Square, play nowadays from ten to four; reforms since the second half of the last century, and much new work, have changed all that. But, if Sir John Craig is to be believed, perhaps they never did so. He is highly critical of the reforms of a century ago, especially the introduction of competitive examinations for recruitment, which are usually regarded as having laid the foundations of the present civil service. And he thinks that Trevelyan's attack on the calibre and recruitment of the service in his time was even a biased abuse of his position. Sinecures had already been abolished; and even when they existed, they were used, on the whole reasonably, for what

appeared to be national interests. And earlier, up to the Reformation, subsidised as the higher civil service had been by a share of the riches of the Church, this way of financing it was a rational use, at the time, of public funds to maintain a national service. Naturally, Sir John does not think much of increased numbers, or successive Royal Commissions, or the many improvements effected in recent decades. Graham Wallas thought that the creation of the modern civil service was the one great political invention of nineteenth century England; Sir John Craig, with forty years' experience in the service, retiring as Controller of the Mint, does not agree, and few will agree with him either. For all that, the book is an interesting, and even in parts amusing, history of various offices big and small, and some of the officials like Thomas Cromwell, Pepys, Chadwick and Morant, in the different Departments from the days of the domestics of ancient kings down to our own times, when a Sir Eric Geddes could say, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty, "Five Private Secretaries? I will have fifteen", and, according to the author, "personal assistants were in time accorded to officials for down the scale; to every man, a maiden or two".

—V. K. N. Menon

HIGHER CIVIL SERVANTS IN BRITAIN; R. K. KELSALL.
London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. 233p. 25s.

Mr. Kelsall who has been the senior research officer at the London School of Economics since 1950 has to his credit several studies on economic and social subjects. His training and experience as an investigator of social problems, and his capacity to take pains are amply borne out in the highly interesting volume on the "Higher Civil Servants in Britain" which he has now published. "From which social strata is the Higher Administrative Class now drawn, and what changes have taken place in this respect over the last eighty years or so?.....How far have the developments that have taken place been the result of policy changes either in the recruitment of direct entrants, or in the promotion of those originally entering the lower class of the Service?.....What has been the relationship between the social origin, education and upbringing of Higher Civil Servants on the one hand, and their career-success on the other? Has there been any marked change in the status of their profession?" These are the questions which Mr. Kelsall has sought to answer, and in answering them he has avoided confining himself to the immediate issue and traversed a much wider field.

It is in this wider field that the main interest of the book lies to the administrators outside Britain, and perhaps even, one may venture to add, to those in Britain. Social composition of the Higher Civil Service is certainly a matter of considerable interest. Maldistribution in this respect, however, raises the problem of social justice, for which social and economic remedies have to be sought. From the point of view of the administrator, it is the quality of the civil servants that is of greater importance. Do the methods of recruitment ensure that the State has the service of the best talents available in the country for the remuneration offered? If not, what modifications in these methods are called for? In so far as the book throws light on these points, it is of interest not only to the practical administrators but to all those interested in public administration. And

the conclusions arrived at on these matters on the basis of the experience in Britain would have validity far beyond that country, which a study of class composition based on the social structure and the educational system in Britain can never have.

The historical account of the methods of recruitment to the Higher Civil Service in Britain is also of absorbing interest to all those who are concerned with the problems of civil service recruitment in this country. This interest is enhanced by the fact that in India we have inherited a system of recruitment which was based on, and was influenced by, the system which prevailed in Britain. It is natural that since independence this system should have attracted critical comment, arising, mostly, from the feeling that the methods which might have been good enough for a colonial administration are not necessarily good for the administration of an independent democratic country. It is certainly all to the good that the methods inherited from the past should not be uncritically accepted for the future, especially when the past differs fundamentally from the present and is likely to differ still more from the future. Nevertheless, the experience of a democratic country like Britain in dealing with its own internal administration cannot but have profound lessons for India, where a similar type of democracy prevails. To what extent have the methods of recruitment to the Higher Civil Service in Britain led to a conscious or unconscious bias in favour of the so-called upper classes? An answer to this question is highly pertinent to another question which is of great interest to us, namely—to what extent does our system also tend to perpetuate the type which the civil servants represented in the past?

A further matter which cannot fail to rouse considerable interest in this country is the extent to which a "*viva voce*" interview should determine recruitment from the open market. We have adopted "*viva voce*" as an essential qualifying test for recruitment to the higher administrative services. There is much to be said in its favour, particularly in the situation which exists in India. Nevertheless, the opinions of eminent persons which have been quoted by Mr. Kelsall are worthy of notice. Sir William Beveridge, for instance, is reported to have said: "I am rather suspicious of it, very suspicious of it, but I have not got any absolute evidence on which to base my suspicions.....I distrust my own tendency to be misled." Professor A.D. Lindsay favours interviewing as an intellectual test supplementary to a written one "because you get people who are very good examination subjects, who are nevertheless fools. At an interview you can see they are stupid." He is conscious, however, of the difficulty of interview as a test and adds "You are really fishing in the dark. You may hit, and you may not. It is very difficult to do it.....without any lead, not knowing what the opinions of the candidate are."

The chapter on "Women in the Administrative Class" has a particular interest to us in India where women are increasingly seeking admission to Government services. In this respect the British and Indian conditions are by no means similar. Britain has been free to proceed slowly and cautiously over the years; on the other hand, the Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex, and leaves no room for experimentation. Nevertheless, the views expressed about the suitability of women for administrative services and the prejudices encountered by them are of great interest.

From all these points of view, if not for the immediate issues sought to be answered in it, the book should find a wide circle of readers in India, ready to welcome it and profit by the conclusions drawn by the author.

—R. C. Dutt

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF GUIDANCE SERVICES; EDWARD C. ROEBER, GLENNE E. SMITH and CLIFFORD E. ERICKSON. *New York, McGraw-Hill, 2nd ed. 1955. ix, 294p. \$4.75.*

With increasing complexity in social organisation and the continual move towards specialisation at an early date, the need as well as the demand for guidance services in schools is continually increasing. When only a small fraction of the entire population was admitted to the privileges of school, and a still smaller number to that of collegiate education, there was not much risk of educated unemployment and the social maladjustment arising out of it. Today, secondary education is not yet universal but in some of the progressive countries it has almost attained that stage. Other countries are also pledged to the expansion of facilities for education both in quantity and quality. In India, the Constitution provides that educational facilities must be offered to all children up to the age of fourteen. Leaders in the field like Maulana Azad have indicated that they would like to go further and make secondary education universal.

In such a context, the need for careful selection of pupils for different types of courses according to the aptitudes and interests of the children becomes important from more than one point of view. In the past, education was largely unilinear. Today, there is a diversity of courses to meet the needs of pupils with different aptitudes. Careful choice of course is thus important because an unsuitable choice may lead to various problems in the school itself apart from the social misfits which are bound to result. It is also important in order to ensure that abilities and interests are matched properly with social needs and requirements and thus serve the best interests of society.

In the past such advice and guidance was very often the function of the family but the growing specialisation of work on the one hand and the loosening of family bonds on the other have reduced the effectiveness of the family in rendering this service. In many enlightened communities, guidance services have, therefore, become an integral part of the work of the school. This is only another evidence of the manner in which the school is seeking to provide many of the services which formerly were the prerogative of the family.

In India, guidance services are yet non-existent or rudimentary. The detailed account given by Professors Roeber, Smith and Erickson in the book under review will, therefore, be of the greatest possible use to headmasters and other educational administrators who are planning to organise guidance services. The treatment is detailed and scholarly and the revised second edition is a great improvement of the first edition which had established itself as almost a classic.

The authors do not hold with the view that "every teacher is or should be a counsellor". They feel that guidance services should be concentrated in the hands of a small group of experts. However, apart from other reasons, the fact that guidance has to be an individual service and each pupil is unique in his make-up, makes it almost impossible for any single expert or even a small body of experts to provide guidance services for all the children in a school. In order to ensure that such guidance is really fruitful and effective, the person who offers the guidance must have the opportunity of watching the children at close quarters and for long periods. It is obvious that no one except the class teacher and the parents can have the opportunity of such close association with the child. There should certainly be experts to advise the class teacher but any attempt to take away the major task of guidance from the class teacher and the parents and place it in the hands of a few experts is fraught with great risks.

—Humayun Kabir

ADMINISTRATION IN PROFILE FOR SCHOOL EXECUTIVES;
HARLAN L. HAGMAN AND ALFRED SCHWARTZ. New York,
Harpers, 1954. 315p. \$3.50.

This book, a volume in the Exploration Series in Education under the advisory editorship of Dr. John Guy Fowlkes, might well have carried the more appropriate title, *School Administration in its Basic Context*. It takes cognizance of the similarities or, indeed, some elements of identity, between the administrator of a school and the administrator of any other institution or agency, whether government or private enterprise. The two following statements, the first from the editor's introduction and the other from the author's preface, bring out the main point of emphasis:

"Administration may be defined as the exercise of leadership towards a given focus or purpose. School administration may be defined as the exercise of leadership towards the complete and desirable development of human beings. While each specialized field of administration is unique, there is a marked similarity or, indeed, a common strand between and among all "administrations". Focus of purpose is the differentiating or unique quality or factor in the exercise of leadership and hence administration."

"One may discover common elements in administration even though the nature of each enterprise is unlike that of any other enterprise in the vicinity. Administrators must plan, decide, organize, communicate, co-ordinate, evaluate, lead and otherwise function in ways common to administration whether the concern is selling merchandise at retail or providing educational experiences."

Chapter I presents school administration against the background of related fields such as business and industry, public administration, sociology, social psychology and psychology. The next five Chapters deal with the factors of leadership, purpose, organization, authority, and group interaction in administration. Chapters VII-IX analyse the functions of planning, communication, co-ordination, problem solving and evaluation techniques

with particular reference to the administration of schools, keeping in view also the contributions of other social 'disciplines'. The last chapter entitled "Emerging Theory in School Administration", is a stimulating and inspiring statement of belief and hope of what school administration should be and might well become if these basic principles and approaches are adopted.

This volume reflects broad scholarship along with intimate familiarity with the "practical" aspects of school administration. It deserves the attention of both theorists and practitioners of administration but especially of those who are responsible for administering educational institutions.

—K. G. Saiyidain

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT; MICHAEL J. JUCIUS. *Homewood, Ill., Irwin, inc., 1955. 3rd ed. 722p. illus. \$8.*

One of the remarkable features of the twentieth century is the growing importance of labour-management relations. Such relations have become important not only to Companies but also to Government, politicians and the public. The news agencies report an increasing number of events pertaining to labour relations which have been made matters of prime importance by government officials and politicians. Apart from the impact of such relations on society in general the type of relations that exist between management and labour is a determining factor in the success or failure of the enterprise concerned. The problems connected with labour relations have become so important that Personnel Management has become a specialised function. Though a successful Personnel Manager should have the innate ability common to all persons who have grown to be Managers, it has been found and accepted that formal education and training in the art of Personnel Management goes a long way in making the task of Management easier.

What is Personnel Management? The author does not define the term but goes on to explain rightly that it is the field of Management which has to do with planning, organising and controlling various operative functions of procuring, developing, maintaining and utilising a labour force. The aims of good Personnel Management are to ensure that the business of the Company is conducted economically and effectively and that the objectives of the personnel as well as the community are duly considered and served. The author has covered almost all the major aspects of Personnel Management, such as personnel programming, job requirements, selection, interviewing, counselling, executive development, remuneration policies, Company-Union relationship, education programmes, etc. Within its 722 pages the book contains a fund of information collected from numerous businesses which have been analysed and presented in a form which leaves little to be desired. Throughout the book the author is objective in his approach to the problem of industrial relations and the advice he gives is based more on practical experience rather than on any theoretical and untried principles. For instance we cannot but agree with the author when, dealing with disciplinary action in Chapter 23, he says that though 'executive' should not hesitate to take disciplinary action when it is deserved, he should consider the effect of his action on the Company as a whole and not act as though his own department is all that matters.

In the chapters dealing with communications and education again, the author has given several suggestions which could be tried with profit by business houses. The same could be said of almost every chapter in the book.

The publication is a college textbook and like most textbooks coming from the United States it contains at the end of each chapter a list of questions and problems. These, together with the very interesting case problems appended to the book, should serve to sharpen the critical powers of students and test the aptitude of management candidates and trainees. Though meant mainly for use in Colleges, the book could be profitably read and used as a reference work by all persons who perform one or the other of the various management functions whether in government or industry. It may, however, be pointed out that the book is full of instances drawn from the United States and refers to the labour legislation of that country and cannot, therefore, serve as a comprehensive textbook on Personnel Management in Indian Colleges. There is, however, no good book on the subject by Indian authors and the students of Personnel Management have to depend upon foreign textbooks to be supplemented by the teachers with Indian examples. Jucius's book is among the good textbooks which one would recommend to the Indian student to start his study of Personnel Management.

—G. L. Bansal

GREAT CITIES OF THE WORLD : Their Government, Politics and Planning; Ed. WILLIAM A. ROBSON. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1954. 693p. illus. 63s.

No proper understanding of the magnitude and complexity of the problems of modern great cities has so far been possible. Prof. Robson's book is the first overall, world-wide, comparative study ever made in the field. The book contains a series of authoritative essays about the growth, development, government, politics, and planning of 20 selected great cities of the world. The individual studies of the cities have been contributed by eminent political scientists from different countries. They are preceded by a lengthy and illuminating general survey of the political, administrative and financial problems which the great cities are facing today and of the steps which are being taken to overcome them. The cities covered are Amsterdam, Bombay, Buenos Aires, Calcutta, Chicago, Copenhagen, London, Los Angeles, Manchester, Montreal, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, Stockholm, Sydney, Toronto, Wellington, and Zurich. A select bibliography for each of these cities is given at the end.

The central core of these problems, Prof. Robson points out, is that though the nineteenth-century assumption that "the bigger the city the better existence" is no longer accepted, no serious and comprehensive attempt seems to have been made anywhere (except in Toronto) to provide the metropolitan community with systems of government and administration designed to meet its present and future needs. "The great city of today lives by a miracle." The advantages of scale and specialisation in the provision of municipal services, which can be secured only by a great city with its large resources, tend to promote the integration of neighbouring

suburbs with the central area. But additional services which are necessary to meet the needs of new areas and "day visitors" cannot be adequately undertaken, because of financial stringency and the higher cost in bringing supplies from long distances. The influx of the people from rural areas into the metropolis continues unabated so much so that its suburbs are now "neither town nor country, but merely.....lands suffering from urban blight". Defective organisation, a medley of unco-ordinated, *ad hoc* municipal bodies, excessive bureaucratisation or too much intrusion of party politics in the day-to-day municipal administration, low level of popular interest in the affairs of the great city, even among the more educated classes—these are some of the important causes which are responsible for the unsatisfactory and inadequate municipal services. As the limits of the metropolitan area expand, the problems become more complex and diverse and the quality of service deteriorates. There is a growing tendency on the part of higher authorities to exercise increasing powers of control over the governments of great cities. While these powers have very often acted as a unifying influence, they do undermine democratic local government, and "without successful government in the local sphere, a country is unlikely to attain a satisfactory level of self-government at the national level".

Prof. Robson concludes that the problems of uncontrolled growth and misgovernment of great cities can be solved only by a more imaginative and balanced approach and a complete overhaul of the existing forms of municipal organisation and methods of work.

The metropolitan community should be taken to comprise not only the central core of the city but also its suburbs and "overspills". It is equally essential to control the growth of this community by placing a limit on its maximum size and population. This, in turn, implies control over the location of industry. There is also an urgent need for pre-planning the development of the metropolitan community on a comprehensive basis; otherwise, the dire consequences of the unplanned development would soon become painfully manifest. The family life in great cities should be restored to the privacy it once enjoyed but has since long lost in the rush and turmoil of the great city. A great city should not be a collection of large suburbs and semi-rural housing estates from where individuals have to make costly, exhausting, time-consuming journeys to and from their work. It should be so planned that each factory, each important warehouse and office is located in a satellite town or garden city where the workers can enjoy not only good housing conditions but also an agreeable environment and easy access to the country-side.

According to Prof. Robson, the reform of the metropolitan government demands both more centralisation and more decentralisation—centralisation of large-scale services which require unified planning, co-ordination and administration; and decentralisation of functions which can be best administered by smaller municipal organs. He, therefore, recommends a two-tier organisation. The upper tier would consist of a *major* authority for the planning, co-ordination and administration of large-scale functions for the whole metropolis. The lower tier would comprise several *minor* municipal authorities each of which would provide services of a purely local nature within its own area. The lower tier consisting, as it would, of a smaller and more easily comprehensive units of community life should be

able to harness popular interest and participation. It is only by a deliberate and consistent effort to educate the metropolitan man in the politics and government of the vast metropolitan community that the problem of democratic city government can really be solved.

Prof. Robson considers that from the point of view both of efficiency and popular participation, municipal enterprise *can* be superior to the public corporation. In his opinion, direct municipal ownership and administration is the most satisfactory method of operating public utility services in great cities *provided* (1) the scale of operations is large enough to admit of economies of mass production; (2) the city government is democratic and competent; and (3) the public utility services are run primarily not for profit, but for providing good services at the lowest cost.

The writer describes in detail the many and varied patterns of the municipal executive found in great cities—the city council, an elected mayor, an elected committee, an executive appointed by the city council or by the central government. While he does not recommend any specific pattern, he strongly disfavours an executive appointed by the central government.

The book portrays a remarkably vivid and realistic picture of the contemporary problems of great cities. Prof. Robson's comparative study of the recent trends of municipal politics and administration is quite revealing, as is also his analysis of the various complex and intricate factors which influence the growth and development of metropolitan communities. One could only wish that the comparisons and the individual studies were a bit more detailed. Being the pioneering venture in its field, the book will be read with great interest by all those who are interested in city government, town and country planning, municipal engineering and democratic administration.

—B. S. N.

EVALUATING YOUR PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT; U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, *Personnel Management Series No. 6.* Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 88p. 35c.

IMPROVING ORIENTATION PROGRAMS; U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, *Personnel Management Series No. 7.* Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1955. 25p. 15c.

Both these booklets are in the nature of check-lists, meant to assist personnel specialists or "establishment officers" in evaluating and improving their programmes of personnel management and orientation. The first brochure examines the various aspects of a personnel programme, under three heads: "program elements", "keys to evaluation" and "procedure for evaluation". The methods and sources suggested under "procedure for evaluation" are listed primarily for finding out to *what* extent the required programme elements are present in the activities of administrative departments and *how* effective these activities are in meeting the departments' needs. The subjects covered include management, control, and direction of personnel programmes; formulation and publication of personnel policies; position classification and pay administration; staffing; merit rating; employee relations, services, and incentives; personnel records and reporting; and overall programme evaluation.

The second "Guide" is less detailed : it mainly discusses the principles which should underlie an orientation programme. The main object of an orientation programme is to inform the employee of his new environment and work and to develop in him a favourable attitude and a sense of purpose. The existing practice in the field in U.S. federal agencies has also been briefly described but no model plan for orienting employees has been presented.

The check-lists included in both the "Guides" can be used with advantage by all those who are concerned with problems of personnel management—whether in Government, private industry, or public enterprises. These lists can greatly help in an overall and detailed appraisal of personnel policies and programmes and thus facilitate remedial measures. It may be mentioned that the Central O & M Division, Government of India, is considering the question of bringing out a guide for "establishment officers", which would professedly serve a similar purpose.

—R.G.M.

DISTRICT REVENUE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT.

Madras, Superintendent, Government Press, 1955. 2 Vols. Vol. 1 : Report. iv, 180p. Vol. 2 : Appendices. ii, 106p.

The Committee has made a series of recommendations about increase in and upgrading of the posts of Lower Division Clerks, improvement of training schemes, reform of office procedures and methods of work, and expansion of staff amenities. It has suggested that the selection of the village development officers should be made through the Madras Public Service Commission from among the experienced clerks of the Revenue Department. (Incidentally, the Central Programme Evaluation Organization feels otherwise : the practice of appointing revenue staff to development posts should be curtailed.) The Committee has further laid special emphasis on the devolution of greater powers on Tahsildars and "Personal Assistants" of the Collectors, and has observed that only the Senior Deputy Collectors should be posted as "Personal Assistants".

The views of the Committee on the current system of "efficiency rating" or confidential reports deserve a special notice. The Committee has found that notwithstanding the instructions contained in the District Office Manual, there seems to be a "considerable truth in the complaint that adverse remarks of a remediable nature are not generally being communicated to the employees. After careful examination of the merits and demerits of "open access" and "grading" systems, the Committee concludes that the prevailing system has much to recommend itself, provided a list of "remediable" defects is incorporated in the relevant rules.

The Committee feels that there is at present insufficient appreciation, on the part of the public, of a certain amount of delay implicit in the process of work in the Revenue Department. Apart from suggesting other measures for improving public relations, it has strongly recommended the publication of a brochure which should not only indicate the general set-up of the Revenue Department but also inform the public of the correct procedures for dealing with the Department.

—J. M. K.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. I

October—December 1955

No. 4

A Word to the Services

[*The following is the full text of a speech made by the Prime Minister, SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, at Kurnool, in Andhra, on the 9th December, 1955 to an audience of public servants. What he has said is of the greatest importance not only for all public servants throughout India but also for those whom they serve.*

The speech also happens to be a particularly good example of the Prime Minister's direct, natural, spontaneous and thinking-aloud style. We make no apologies for reproducing the speech exactly as it fell from his lips for only thus can the readers share adequately the experience of those who heard it.—Ed.]

“I DO not usually have the opportunity of addressing the Services as such, except sometimes in our rather narrow circle of Delhi. I am rather glad, therefore, that during my brief visit to Kurnool, this engagement has been made for me. The Governor just spoke about the essential part that the Services play at any time but most specially at a time when the country is trying to advance rapidly according to some planned method and advancing towards a socialistic structure of society. Now, what exactly are the Services? What is their purpose? We have to be clear about that. The Services, as their name implies, are supposed to serve, obviously. Serve who?—society, the people, the country. Why I say this is, because, the test always has to be how far the Services, whether as a whole or any individual members of them, are serving the larger causes that society has, that the nation has.

“In the past a great deal of attention was paid to what might be called Service Rules and Regulations. Complicated rules running into thick volumes were made for them. Now, rules are quite right. There should be rules; there should be certainty as to what happens under a certain set of circumstances. The individual serving

should have security and should not be dealt with autocratically or spasmodically just as somebody wants to. That is all right. Nevertheless, it is going rather beyond that mark, when the whole Governmental structure, you might say, turns round the Services. Why was this so? This was so, because in the old days, really, the Governmental structure was the higher or the superior services. That was the Government, from top to bottom.

"The old Indian Civil Service and other senior Services were the people who laid down the policy in India and therefore were the highest authority in India apart from some distant authority in England. The Services that were built up in those days in India were very competent Services; the senior Services were fairly efficient Services. But there were two things about it. *First of all*, they served naturally the larger policies which were determined by the British Government. They had to. That was the final authority. *Secondly*, being a service structure they thought of the good of India rather in the terms of the good of their own kind, which was not obviously always the same. It was rather the approach to the question, a mentality. Now that of course has changed and has to change for a variety of reasons. First, the country is independent. There is no British authority and no attempt by a foreign authority to impose its own wishes. Secondly, we have what is called a democratic structure where the final authority are the people of India who from time to time elect their representatives in Parliaments and Assemblies and the majority parties in those Assemblies or Governments. Now those Governments inevitably have to be responsive to public opinion. Therefore, the final authority, that is the public, becomes the arbiter. Naturally the public does not consider every problem, every detail; it can't, but the broadest policies they have to decide upon. Therefore, the whole structure of Government in India has changed from rather an autocratic structure to a democratic structure—a structure which was based on some outside authority to a structure which is based on an authority not only within the country but ultimately responsible to the people of the country. That is a basic change. Together with that other changes have come. That is to say, the State now thinks much more about social and economic problems. The State has become a dynamic State—not a static State. Of course, no individual

or no State is ever completely static. It can't be. If anything is completely static it is dead. Only death puts an end to all movement. But broadly speaking, the previous State was a static State. It changed gradually. The present State has to be a dynamic State because of a large number of forces at work apart from our own desire to make up for the lost time and to build a new India. So our outlook becomes less and less purely political and more and more social and economic. Political, of course, to some extent it has to be. But the importance of the political element becomes less and less. It is the growth of a country, it is the growth of a social group, if that group begins to think more on economic and social lines and less on political lines. It is the measure of the growth of India today that we are thinking more and more on economic and social lines of 5-year plans, schemes of development, and all this, rather than purely political questions. Now if all these great changes have taken place in India, and are continually taking place, obviously the Services have to adapt themselves to them; have to adapt methods to the changed *conditions* of work and the changed *objectives* of work.

"Work for the Services has grown greatly in India. It is very difficult for me to say how much work has grown, let us say, in the Delhi Central Secretariat. But a senior Civil Servant was telling me that it was hundred times more than previously. I think that was an exaggeration (Laughter). But it is a fact that it has grown tremendously. That is to say in two ways : One is, there are entirely *new* types of work which we have to do and which we didn't do before. Let us say, take our Foreign Office. It is a new thing entirely. There was no Foreign Office previously. Now it is an enormous establishment, thousands of people serving abroad, hundreds here, vast number of various grades of people serving in the office, learning foreign languages, school of foreign languages, all kinds of things and it goes on growing. We cannot stop it growing. Because, as an independent country we have to deal with other independent countries. We can't ask somebody else to deal on our behalf. That is a sign of dependence.

"Then take again, this—of course it is in a sense temporary but we have to face it—our Ministry of Rehabilitation in Delhi has to deal with 8 or 9 million people who came as refugees from Pakistan and to rehabilitate them. It has to

deal with millions of little and big houses left by the evacuees. It is a huge organisation spread out over various parts of India, looking after large properties, what is called evacuee property. It has started schools and colleges, all kinds of factories for the refugees. It is a Government in itself—the Ministry of Rehabilitation dealing with 8 million people. I have given you two examples. I can give you, of course, any number. Our Scientific Departments have grown tremendously. Our Ministry of Commerce and Industry has grown very greatly. There is a new Ministry of Production, there is a new Ministry of Planning and so on. Our Ministry of Health functions in a bigger way, our Ministry of Education functions in a much bigger way, every Ministry functions in a very much bigger way and many new Ministries have come into being. Take Defence. Previously Defence was really an organisation here to carry out the basic policies laid down in London—just to give effect to them. Now we grow. We have to lay down our policies. We have to develop not only the outer structure of defence but the industrial apparatus behind defence. The Defence Ministry today owns great industries all over, just like a number of other Ministries. The Communications Ministry owns great factories making telephones and what not. The Railway Ministry owns Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Integral Coach Building Factory near Madras. You see how all this goes on growing. It is an enormous growth. People do not realise it. I cannot say that every body in Government service is hard worked. But I do know that large number of people in Delhi, especially senior people dealing with responsible work, are very hard worked. I know in my Ministry of External Affairs we start early in the morning and we don't come home till 7 or 8 in the evening. It is an all-day effort and usually one has to work late at night also dealing with important problems. So this tremendous increase of work; secondly, the *nature* of work has changed. It is much more responsible work. It is not carrying out orders merely, but much more responsible work. Thirdly, the work has become more and more *social*. The planning, the whole planning machinery, the Planning Commission, is *new*—with its big structure behind it. So you see how both the *quantity* and the *quality* of our work have changed and the *direction* in which it goes has changed.

“Further, there has been a very big change—progressive change in the relationship existing between the Services and

the people. Now in the old days the Services were a class apart from the people depending on the goodwill of the British Government and they were not dependent, of course, on popular goodwill; and in fact you might say that the public interest and the Services' interests were not identical always, though sometimes of course they were.

"In the case of some Services, let us take the Police for instance, the average reaction of the public was hostile to the Police. The poor policeman had to deal with difficult problems. Sometimes a policeman may have misbehaved but even if he behaved well the public reaction was hostile because it was hostile to the Police as such. The Police came in conflict. All those things become completely wrong under present conditions. From the side of the Police there should be the realisation that they always not only serve the people but seek their co-operation. From the side of the public there should be this notion that these people, the police force as a whole is serving us. A police force is essential in a country, it is absolutely necessary, and we should utilise its services and help them and co-operate with them in the detection of crime or anything evil that happens. I think that the relationship of the Police and the public in the last 5 or 6 years has changed greatly. The tension between the two, the dislike of each other is much less than it was. It has not gone completely yet and sometimes it is possible that over some matters people get excited or are excited. But we must realise the basic fact that any one can misbehave. It is obvious whether he is a policeman, or a member of the public or member of any profession—an individual may misbehave and misbehaviour should be dealt with, should be punished. But to consider the Police as a whole as something evil is just childish nonsense. It is absurd. Because, it does not matter what Government there may be, they are bound to have a police force, an efficient and loyal police force; otherwise it is no good. Therefore, we have to change our old attitudes and develop new attitudes.

"Basically the attitude has to be, I repeat, as between the Services whatever they are—whether they are civil or military or police or anything else, they have to be one of active co-operation with the public, of active service to the public and on the public side also the same of welcoming that co-operation and giving their co-operation too. In fact, the so-called barrier, the so-called dividing line which in the past divided the officials and non-officials should cease to be. We still use

these words "official" and "non-official". They have ceased to have any meaning today. What am I? Am I an official or non-official? (Laughter). I do not know. I have been now for 8 or 9 years in the Government of India, obviously in an official capacity. Therefore, I am an official (Laughter). On the other hand, because I am not a member of any permanent or impermanent service (Laughter), I am a non-official (Laughter). Really these lines have no meaning, now except for some statistical data somebody is compiling, and these lines should go. That is, in effect, there should be a blurring over when they meet; the official must feel more and more as a non-official and the non-official should feel not as an official exactly (Laughter) but as one who is working in partnership with the official people for the same objects. Now this kind of thing, you can observe this happening today, in the Community Projects, in the National Extension Scheme where the whole essence of that project, and the success of the project, depends on how far the officials connected with it function as non-officials and how far they can draw out the co-operation of the non-official elements of the people or the villagers or anybody. If the official who is in charge cannot do that, it just does not matter how clever or able he is, he is not suitable to that task. The test is his capacity to draw out people, draw out the co-operation of the people in the village wherever he is working. That of course applies to every official, but more so in planning, more so in constructive and development work because there is something that has got to be done not merely in the routine way but in the creative way. So the whole outlook of official and non-official has to change and fitted.

"We talk nowadays about a socialistic structure of society. Obviously that structure cannot take place, cannot develop, just by some legislation, although legislation helps. But it really means building up a complex society. Society is very complicated with innumerable relations. Socialism is not a law. It is a structure governing production, distribution, mutual relationships, transport, everything. Now, that takes time. It just cannot be done by a resolution or by a decree. It may take less time or it may take more time. But first of all one should be clear in which direction one is going. If we are going in the right direction it is all well. We can speed up our process. Speeding it too much sometimes really results in delay. That is to say, if you try to speed

it up too much the structure may crack and the cracking of a structure means delay. You have to mend; you have to do something. Therefore, you will find that even in the biggest revolutions—or so-called revolutions—that have occurred, it has taken years and decades to build up the new society. The revolution did not build up. The revolution only removed obstacles to the building up. That is the most it could do. If an autocratic monarch is the obstacle we remove him. If something else is an obstacle that is removed. Having done that, then comes the slow laborious process of building up a new society.

“Let us take Russia, the Soviet Union. A great revolution took place there 38 years ago. We look at the picture now and we see great achievements there. We like some things and we do not like some things,—but that is neither here nor there. I am merely talking about the achievements. We see considerable achievements there in 38 years. If you go back you will find that the first ten years or more were not spent in building up but in struggling out of the morass of a revolution and civil war. It took these 10 to 12 years just getting out of the problems which had followed the revolution and gradually, then, they started their first five year plan, I think about 15 years after the revolution. Now they have their 5th or 6th five year plan. I was telling our Russian guests the other day that they had got 30 years start of us. Exactly 30 years. Their revolution came in 1917. The change-over in our country, our Independence, came in 1947, just 30 years after. I said, “you have got 30 years start of us but we hope to catch up in our own way”.

“Now, therefore, the Services must gradually cease to think of themselves as some select coterie apart from the rest of the people. They must think of themselves as part of the people of India co-operating in this great adventure of building up India. Of course, whatever your Services may be, you have your service problems; certainly you should consider your own service problems, deal with them in a co-operative way. That is a different matter. But let not your service problems overwhelm your mind and make you forget what your major task is. The Services are not meant for the sake of the Services—they are not meant only to provide employment to people. They do provide employment; of course, they should. But they are meant to get a job done—not just employment—to get something done. If you are

not doing that something, then you are not serving your purpose. You are functionless, though you may be drawing a salary (Laughter). Therefore, you have to look at how to get that job done. Of course, there are many other considerations which come in. For instance, we have a problem on the one hand of enlarging the scope of employment widely—there is plenty of unemployment in the country. On the other hand we have the difficulty in many offices that there are far too many people—a nuisance. Such numbers bring down efficiency. It is probably better for us to pension them off—and let others do the work. It is better to pension off people and give them something adequate so that they may not just come in, encumber, and get in the way of the work of others. Of course, all these are temporary problems. That is to say, as our social, industrial and other work increases in scope it will go on absorbing more and more people till ultimately we hope that there will be no unemployment or, if there is, it will be what is called fractional unemployment of a few people for a short time. But in the meanwhile, we have to pass through this difficult period of transition. Inevitably in this difficult period, there are maladjustments and many people unfortunately suffer. We should try to reduce and to lessen that. But one cannot avoid it. It is just beyond our power to prevent all that happening. We have to go through the hard way. Every country has. If you consider these countries where there have been great revolutions, you will remember that the amount of suffering that occurred in those countries was something tremendous. They may have achieved—they *have* achieved—many good things in their advance, but it was at a terrific cost and we try as far as possible to avoid that cost. We try to advance peacefully to avoid the tremendous cost and suffering of conflict and violence. But some cost has to be paid in social change. If we change the land systems of India as we have been changing them, inevitably, the people who had vested interests suffer. We do not want them to suffer. It is not our desire. But they have to suffer because they came in the way of the mass of the people.

“Now another thing : in the old days our Services were graded in various ways—even now they are graded I believe. They were the all-India Services, Senior and Junior, Grades 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, etc. Now obviously, in any kind of work there are different types of work, and some work requiring

highest responsibility. Take the army. It is no good my saying that our Commander-in-Chief and the private in the army should be put on the same level, and made to do the same work. They *are* different types of work. The private in the army—the soldier—is a very fine soldier, it is true. But I can't ask him to command an army. He has not got the knowledge and experience or ability to do it. He can't do it. So as in the military it applies to other jobs, too. Take a big engineering job. I want an absolutely first class engineer and it makes no difference to me whether another man with 20 or 30 or more years is very senior. If another man is a first class engineer that another man will be given the job and not the man of seniority. It is quite clear, because we want to get the good men. If I cannot get a good enough man in India I will have to import him from Germany, Japan or Russia or America because I want a man who can do the job. Fortunately we have got plenty of very good engineers. But still, sometimes we have had to import men with great experience for the big jobs. In the next stage, I do not think it will be necessary for us to get any engineers from abroad because our engineers are so good and they have got the experience now, even for the biggest jobs. But what I am saying is : one must distinguish.

“In the British times there was very much of what might be called the caste system in the Services; the British, of course, being the topmost caste of all. That is, there were rigid lines of distinction between various grades of Services and nobody could cross that barrier as a rule, though very rarely one might. The first barrier originally was between the British and the Indians. Then a few Indians were allowed to creep into the British region and gradually that grew. But even in the lower ranks, as you know, there was this caste system in the Services and the various grades of Services. Now, that is a particularly bad thing. There is one thing that is quite essential; that is that according to function, according to the quality of work, one has to put a man in charge who has the capacity to do that job, and who has the training and experience to do it. Naturally he will have greater responsibility but that does not mean that as a human being he is superior to another human being. That does not mean that he belongs to a higher caste than another—Service caste I mean and not the other;—the other is bad enough, but to bring it into the Services is worse.

"So we have to get rid of this feeling of 'casteism' in Services and that again, I will repeat, does not mean that we should put stupid people in charge of responsible work. All our work will suffer. We have to keep up standards. Our standards generally speaking, by and large, are fairly good compared to any service standards and administrative standards in other countries. They are quite good. We want them to be better still. In some places there has been a tendency for them to go down, largely because of this excess of work, suddenly vast numbers of new people coming in without experience, without those standards and other things. But it is quite essential that standards of work, and standards of integrity should be kept up, because without them naturally one cannot go ahead fast and all our work becomes tainted work and there is a feeling that it also results ultimately in a lack of faith in the Services on the part of the people, which is a bad thing. We must have faith. In the Services, like in any other groups, there are good people, and bad people; there are dishonest people and honest people—every type. Now that means that where there is a dishonest person, where there is an inefficient or incapable person, one should deal with that individual as such; one should not blame the whole Service. One should not blame the whole community and say that it is bad because one individual or two or ten are bad. We should deal with individuals. For the rest, it becomes the duty of every person for his own sake, for the sake of the Service and if you like, for the sake of the country, to maintain certain high standards of work, of efficiency, of probity and integrity; thereby, ultimately, he gains too, as well as others.

"As I told you our work becomes more and more social and economic. The person who is becoming more and more important today is the engineer, the technical man, the scientist. In the old days, the person who was most important was the administrator. Now I do not mean to say that the administrator has become less important. Of course, he is important. He has to deal with human beings. He must be a man with experience and judgment and all that. But the fact remains that the other types of specialised workers like the engineers and the scientists are becoming more and more important. It may be that you can get an administrator relatively easily; it is very difficult to get an absolutely first class engineer or a first class scientist. He is rare like every high class specialist is rare. There is a tendency, again

derived from the British days, of treating the administrator at the top as far superior to a person engaged in any other occupation like engineering, science or education or anything. That is not a good tendency. Because, today our country is becoming more and more technical minded. That is a sign of progress. We are going to turn out more and more engineers, educationists, scientists and the like and the future of the country is going to depend, I might say, more on the scientists and the engineers than probably on the administrators. Of course, it is rather difficult to distinguish and say that it should depend more on this, or more on that, because the future of a country like India or any country depends on a multitude of activities, on a multitude of specialists, experts, experienced men, men of wisdom and the co-ordination of all these activities which results in the particular work that we are doing.

“We are getting out of our old rather simple agricultural civilisation, which has its virtue. Undoubtedly the simple agricultural civilisation had a certain virtue and it had of course many failings. But any how, it was a civilisation of poverty, it was a civilisation of scarcity, it was a civilisation of co-operative effort in the village working together with many good points. But we just cannot have that because we want to get out of this rut of poverty; our population increases fast. That again reduces our levels, unless we produce more. So today we are entering the industrial age, the scientific age, the technical age, where the scientist and the technician and the technologist and the engineer play a vital role in our society. Today we find some difficulty in finding employment for thousands and thousands of our young men or women who become B.As. There is no difficulty in finding employment for 10 thousand overseers today if you produce them. That is the difference that is taking place in India. We have a technical institute at Kharagpur. Every person who is trained there, before he leaves the institute, has got a job. There is a demand for trained technical people, while every person, you know very well, who leaves the college as a B.A. does not get a job today. It shows that the education of the college is not quite fitting in with the new technical requirements of the present day. Of course, vast numbers of people are now being trained technically in India; much larger number than previously, and in various ways, grades of training,

so that the whole character of our Services is changing now. They will change in the course of next 5 or 10 years. Our Services will become more and more technical services. Even the administrative jobs will gradually be occupied by technical-minded and technically-trained people and that will be a sign of advance again.

"So that, we are living in this dynamic age in India. India today is a dynamic country, and we have to be wide awake. Now, one fault of what has been, in the past, normally called "service mentality" is that it largely sticks to certain routine and it is not to that extent a dynamic mentality. It is rather a static one. I am not referring, of course, to individuals; but any profession, any group of human beings working along precedents, tends to become static. Nobody is more static than the lawyer. He is always working on some precedent of a Law Court laid down previously, (Laughter) and producing rulings and the rest. That is the static mentality. And the service man also tends to get a static mentality because he goes according to precedent.

"In every country, in every people, there are two types of forces at work. One is what might be called continuity, continuing traditions, continuing habits, continuing structures of society, continuing beliefs and the like. That is a powerful cement which holds society together. We in India have this sense of continuity in a very powerful degree and that is what has made us function together for the last thousands of years. That other force is that of change which is the reverse of continuity and it is equally essential or more essential because, as I said some little while ago, anything that has ceased to change completely is dead. It is only death that stops change. Everything that is living, whether an individual or a social group, or a nation, if it is alive, is constantly changing. It may be changing slowly or it may be changing fast. When you have a big revolution, that revolution means a sudden break with the past, the tremendous break cracks up and then you start the change. But you will find soon after the revolution how the old past creeps in again and the people who come later in the revolution link themselves up with the old past. Look at the French Revolution. A tremendous affair in its time and yet 10 or 20 years later, France went back to a large extent to its old habits, although some of the gains of the revolution and land reforms, etc. were kept. Take other revolutions. It is surprising how after

a major revolution the old sense of continuity creeps in. The old sense of continuity is represented largely or in a way by, shall I say, *nationalism*. Take the Soviet Union. It has been a tremendous revolution upsetting everything, and the changes of the revolution subsist undoubtedly in many ways. Yet Russia has during the last few years become very nationalistic. The old heroes of Russia of 500 years ago are the present Russia's heroes again.

"So you see how these two processes of continuity and change which are really contradictory to each other function. Sometimes, too much continuity will become static, will become weak and there will be no progress. Too much change may shake up and break up the structure completely and then you have to pick up the threads of continuity again. So that, one has to balance change and continuity. If there is a peaceful process of change, the balancing becomes easier, provided it does not become too slow. Then, of course, if it becomes too slow the other factors come in which tend to upset the balance. Anyhow, this wider question of change and continuity in all our nation's life or any nation's life might be considered from the very much narrower point of view of the Services. You have to keep both, a sense of continuity and a sense of change to adapt yourself to present conditions.

"Above all, finally, the Services—whether they are all-India Services, whether they are State Services—have to remember that the basic need in India without which no great thing can be done at all is the building up of the unity of India. That is quite essential and I want you to realise that. You all talk about it of course, but I want you to realise it in all its importance and essential nature. Whatever we have achieved in the past 30 or 40 years in our struggle, and in the last 8 years of our Independence has been because, in a large measure, we have pulled together in India in spite of fissiparous tendencies and forces which disrupt. I think every member of the Services, whatever his service may be, must understand and appreciate this, must understand that it is his duty to work for the unity of India, to break down barriers which come in the way of the unity of India and always to be a crusader in that behalf.

"Here, coming back to Kurnool after two years and looking back at things generally, we have had plenty of

reports of what is being done in this and other States—I am happy to see not only the actual evidence of progress which one sees but much more so, by the atmosphere that I find here—a progressive, a self-confident atmosphere of achievement and of going ahead (applause). So, I congratulate you all upon it and wish you prosperity for the future.”

“We should never make the mistake of thinking, that we can never make any mistakes. The bitterest critic is bitter, because he has some grudge, fancied or real, against us. We shall set him right, if we are patient with him, and, whenever the occasion arises, show him his error or correct our own, when we are to be found in error. So doing, we shall not go wrong. Undoubtedly, the balance is to be preserved. Discrimination is ever necessary.”

—MAHATMA GANDHI

(in a speech on November 28, 1947. Quoted from
Shri D. G. Tendulkar's MAHATMA, Vol. VIII, p. 255)

History and Precedent vs. Reform

Paul H. Appleby

[This note was recorded by Mr. Appleby during his second visit to India in 1954 and is reproduced here in full for the benefit of our readers.—Ed.]

A VERY intelligent Chief Secretary in one of the States in India remarked to me that he is a conservative regarding administrative reform because in his observation there is always a good reason for the traditional ways in which business is handled. I have often made similar statements, stressing the fact that human institutions are themselves the principal repository of learning about the conduct of human institutions. Institutions do embody, in their workways, the learning of past experience derived from the interaction of those internally and externally concerned. Consequently, these workways merit more respect than the layman or the touring expert might at first imagine.

It is true, in consequence, that too drastic a change, or change merely at the demand of amateur observers, may be more damaging than helpful, obscuring the working clarity of the familiar and creating too much confusion. It is also true, however, that institutions have high momentum along old and familiar courses and a corresponding inertia in respect of changing direction and method. There is consequent wisdom, not applicable to India alone, in the remark of the Governor of the State of the Chief Secretary already mentioned, when he observed that in India there is such addiction to the past that the danger of too rapid change in public administrative arrangements is hardly likely to arise.

A number of factors here point emphatically to the need for reform in administration. Among these, the following seem to deserve special mention :

1. The elements of interaction from which derives the wisdom determining institutional workways have themselves undergone drastic and sudden change in India. The nature of the interaction between Government and citizens here has been fundamentally altered. The interaction between

India and Britain, which long was determining in a very basic way, has become much more abstract and mutual, while the interaction between the Indian Government and the people of India has become determining, insistent, diversified and pervasive.

In this connection, let us consider the single matter of mail from citizens to Government. The increase in number of personal calls on ministers and officials is almost as impressive, and both in the matter of letters and in the matter of personal visits, what has developed up to now is as nothing compared with the probabilities of the future as education spreads and the dimensions of concerns of citizens greatly increase. Even now, the trickle of mail to one of the States from the Prime Minister's office, passing on communications from citizens, was the first major problem presented to me by the secretariat of one State. Everywhere, administrative staff has stressed the great diversion of energies occasioned by the many inquiries of citizens, legislative members and ministers. It is fundamental to the values of democracy that all such communications get careful attention. Yet it is plain that their certainly larger dimensions of the future cannot be at all well handled without extensive administrative reforms, of which necessary increases in staff, though considerable, will be incidental to reform in workways.

2. Present workways are crucially tied to a basic concern for precedent. It is rather commonly recognized that the function of the "assistant", who writes the "first note", is crucial. It is not so commonly understood that the instructions and work method orient the assistant primarily to a citation of precedent. In most organizations and in most matters handled, familiarity with precedent can almost be taken for granted; it is the primary equipment of all concerned below the level of the minister. An almost exclusive orientation to precedent in note-writing at subordinate levels orients the whole administrative process away from adjustment and imagination. This orientation to precedent is closely related to succeeding items in the listing of factors calling for attention to reform.

3. Inherited disinclination to delegate, to consider administration as literal execution of orders and to think of policy decision-making as issuing orders, to confine subordinates by too many and too precise rules, and to limit both

inter-organizational and public communication to a few as empowered to "commit Government":

All of these tendencies combine to produce an attitude toward all decision-making which regards it as too final and unchangeable. A great deal of light can be shed on the administrative process and on the pursuit of democratic values by scrutinizing decision-making in terms disclosing how many decisions by and in behalf of democratic government are in fact tentative and highly subject to change, and how many decisions *should* be tentative and revocable. It should be seen that in good administration decisions become final—or effectively final—only by not being subsequently modified. Modification should not be an occasion, normally, in which anybody loses face but merely as the means by which the process of decision-making is refined and kept responsible. When this view is taken, the willingness to permit many minor subordinates to sign letters to citizens and otherwise to exercise discretion can be very greatly increased.

In any properly conducted organization there cannot be any very satisfactory, comprehensive categorization of subordinate discretions, fixed in rules, and any attempt to define subordinate authorities precisely deadens the administrative process. In the end, the only principle that stands scrutiny is that decisions are made at the lowest possible level where there is willingness to assume responsibility for having made it. Even when such a principle is accepted, the great difficulty will not be in subordinates exercising discretion dangerously but in the disinclination of subordinates to assume responsibility. The discipline of responsibility, the discipline of organization, the unease of top persons, the timidity of subordinate persons will combine to force too many decisions to come to too high levels. Delegation succeeds only where there is a constant effort to stimulate, encourage and utilize subordinate responsibility. This is the effort which does most to make very great, high-level responsibility manageable and real. Top responsibility is at its greatest where it enlists the support of numerous subordinate responsibilities.

4. The movement of paper and other forms of communication too frequently through all perpendicular levels of responsibility where any theoretical concern may be thought to exist, and lateral movement of communication similarly too

frequently to all units and ministries in which some theoretical interest or prerogative may be thought to exist, or to be claimed :

The movement of papers downward to assistants who will initiate work looking toward a decision need not proceed through all intervening levels, except in rare cases where the papers do contain information of importance apart from the decision to be formulated. The responsibility of upward levels becomes a factor of significance usually only as the movement toward a decision is under way—and this occurs as the papers move *up* the hierarchy. The lateral movement of paper should take place more often—when it takes place at all—at subordinate levels, without first moving up one hierarchy and down another one. And many cross-references are futile gestures to a concern that is not real enough to require the time now spent on it. Cross-references should be made only when there is a really substantial basis for concern in another ministry. In this connection I have in mind two quite distinct orders of papers. One order comprises routine or petty or technical matters in which the other ministry has no real wisdom to add, and where the action contemplated by the originating ministry impinges in no important way on the activities of the second. The second order of papers is comprised of cross-references that are necessary under present rules and procedures but inherently and unnecessarily impair responsibilities of programme ministries. In this second order come such matters as detailed Finance control of expenditures, too detailed control by Finance, Public Service Commission, Home Affairs or other organization of many personnel transactions, and too detailed scrutiny of development projects by the Planning Commission. In general, there should be more confinement of these general agencies to *programme* considerations, and less involvement in review and control of *projects* and *transactions*.

5. Inadequate use of competition among personnel for promotion, too infrequent promotion in many instances, too little promotion by merit and too much by seniority. In general, too little use of incentives to develop and demonstrate competence, and too much confinement to fixed notions about cadre structure and size, special service identity and size. Altogether, too little attention to development of the potentialities of subordinate personnel, and too little anticipation of the personnel needs for many more and more able persons

as the work load of government goes up in the course of its success and assumption of new responsibilities :

The very worst feature of the present administrative system here, I think, is the consistently very bad morale of subordinate employees. Morale is worst, of course, among those persons at these levels who are most frustrated because of a sense of having capacities for work of a more difficult nature and personal needs—associated with their education and cultivation—considerably beyond their incomes. Much of the frustration is also associated with the absence of opportunity for self-expression and dignity. Subordinate employees here are rather generally treated with disrespect. I have been told by many that they are excluded even from recognition and admission to full membership in employee unions. They get sharp directions to do this and that but have no sense of participation in the exciting business of revolutionary India. They live in fear of those higher up, and on the rare occasion when a higher-up visits their office to give some instruction or reprimand stand as deferentially at attention as the peons and guards do on the much more numerous occasions when an "officer" or minister walks down a hallway.

In the post offices, in district sub-offices, in agricultural extension and in many places, these subordinates are the persons who carry the programme and spirit of the new India to the people in programmes actually undertaken and not merely verbalized. It is not surprising that it is at these cutting edges where corruption is most common and where personal disgruntlement is the great handicap in the way of pushing on the programmes ministerially conceived.

This is bad enough now, but every year that passes will see the ill effects pyramided, because each year the government will need more able persons in first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth levels. Where are they coming from if not primarily from the organization of government itself? The universities cannot be expected to turn out people ready made for high and intermediate posts. The Government needs desperately to turn attention to development of existing and incoming personnel, and it needs desperately to improve morale. The present condition sweeps back to the universities and fans unrest there.

I can find little evidence that these matters are getting much attention, and particularly little evidence that there has

been much thought about systematic utilization of *incentives* to better performance.

No foreigner can offer very sensible suggestions about specific pay scales, and I shall not attempt that. But perhaps I can make some general observations about incentives, and suggest that the subject be given much more thought here.

The ranging of reward from starvation at one end of the scale to millions at the other end, long characteristic of capitalistic economies in their private sectors, is fundamentally absurd, of course, and greatly changing. But even so, governments of capitalistic nations have no need to copy private patterns or to extend the range of income differentials so widely. In a way, perhaps still rather vague, the general attitude in India is more fully up-to-date than in most other countries. Here as in the United Kingdom a generally equalitarian trend does leave room for reasonable and useful differentiations in reward which have great administrative advantages. But here thinking in these terms has been confined rather too exclusively to the areas related to taxation and the private economy, with too little attention to the constructive use of systematic incentive systems in public organizations. Governmental pay scales and promotion practices have not had here the reconsideration they deserve.

I should like to see here, among other things, an administrative system more open to experimentation, less precisely and uniformly in force in all sectors of Government at all times. One of the experiments I should like to see would be in the use of experimental pay scales. There are two areas in which, I think, experimentation is most warranted. One is the level of "assistant", where some of the better men might be selected for special pay increments, and the results later carefully appraised. The other area is that of the "village level worker". In a nation where so many needs press so hard, it is very hard to fix priorities, but it seems to me clear enough that first priority in the development field is in the area of village achievement. There, at the level of the village worker, even this soon in the programme are signs of a dissatisfaction which can prove in time to be ruinous. I hope that experimentation there can be on a rather broad front, and evaluation of the experiment made in terms largely comparative with other types of activities rather than wholly within the

village programme. As a visitor, for whatever it is worth, I am greatly impressed with the needs at these two points.

Incentives, even in economic terms, are not confined to basic pay level, but to rates and frequency of increments, to ceilings, and to promotion possibilities. It must be remembered too that incentives are not nearly all economic. Recognition, attention, and praise are far more useful than adverse criticisms and rebukes.

“Do not.....think of your prospects only. Leave the fruits of your work to God. While we were fighting against foreign rule, we put great emphasis on the rights we had yet to acquire. But now when we have won our rights, we should think more of our duties. Rights are born of duties. Duties well performed will ensure rights. Therefore, if you work in this spirit, you will give a worthy account of yourself.”

—RAJENDRA PRASAD

*(Quoted from a speech to the members of the
Indian Administrative Service, delivered on October 10, 1950)*

Towards a Programme Budget

Rana K. D. N. Singh

BUDGETING, like any other aspect of governmental administration, is largely influenced by tradition and past usage. In the days when the volume of revenue and expenditure was moderate and the range of governmental activities limited, the budgetary system in use in India served well enough. During the last few decades, there has been an enormous increase in development and welfare activities of government and a considerable expansion of State revenues and expenditure. But though the size of the budgets has greatly increased, the method of budgeting in this country has remained unchanged. The Central and State budgets now represent voluminous tomes in which the laymen, the legislators and sometimes even the administrators have difficulty in finding their way. Discussions on the budget estimates in Parliament and State legislatures largely revolve around the budget speeches of the Finance Ministers. Few legislators have the time, the inclination and the technical knowledge to enable them to comprehend the mass of figures composing the estimates.

There is hardly room for doubt that the *existing system* does not meet the *present needs* of the country. An endeavour is, therefore, made in this article to present a fresh approach to the problem of devising a budgetary system which will serve the purpose better.

II

Under the existing budgetary system the heads of expenditure are classified largely by *broad and general objects of expense*—a classification designed primarily as an instrument of financial control. Though important schemes involving large capital outlay or revenue expenditure are mentioned individually and “explanatory memoranda” are occasionally added to show the reasons for the proposed new outlay or variations, the budget document is mainly confined to giving only such details as are relevant or useful for *financial control*. It only shows what sums are to be spent on

particular items such as pay of officers and establishment, allowances, contingency, cost of supplies and equipment, etc.

There is a tendency on the part of the Departments framing budget proposals to simplify their own task by sticking as close as possible to the previous year's estimates, increasing or reducing them here and there as required. Further, as the existing budgetary method does not give any indication of the actual accomplishments expected from a certain volume of expenditure, a "vicious circle" is set up; the Finance Departments make flat percentage cuts in the estimates proposed by the spending Departments which, in turn, deliberately provide inflated figures anticipating such cuts and Finance Departments, not unintentionally, assume that all estimates are inflated and go on imposing cuts.

The principal defect of the present system of budgeting is that it does not convey as much information as it should : it does not show estimates in terms of physical programmes of action, nor priorities in expenditure, nor costs per unit of work or cost-benefit ratios. Nor is much information available about the objectives of many of the departmental activities; even such information as is given is not in a form which would aid in appraising the impact of government activity on the national economy. With the enormous growth in developmental projects and non-regulatory activities, many significant projects get submerged under the plethora of sub-heads and minor heads. In short, the present system neither helps us to evaluate the effectiveness of the state welfare activities in terms of cost nor does it assist in economic analysis and planning.

III

At a time when we are going to embark upon a second five year plan of economic and social development, it is imperative that we should reshape the budgetary tools to meet its needs. The essence of planning is to define the goals to be achieved, assess the resources available and select from among alternative programmes particular schemes or programmes which can best attain these goals. The comparative evaluation of different schemes and programmes before, during and at the close of the period of the plan, is a necessary accompaniment to sound planning and such evaluation

necessitates an improved method of budgeting—a programme budget.

Programme budgeting is a comparatively new development. It has proved very popular in the United States where it has been adopted in many large cities and a number of States. Certain Federal departments in the United States, notably the Department of the Army, have taken to this method. The fact that programme budgeting is still in the process of being evolved would facilitate its adaptation to the particular circumstances of our country.

What is a programme budget? Essentially, it implies that the budget statement should indicate the actual achievements expected by a Ministry or a Department over a period of time as a result of the expenditure of funds on a certain pattern. It should focus attention through the various programme allocations, on the main questions of public policy, the desirability, the size and cost of the projects to be implemented rather than upon the administrative details. The essence of the programme budget lies in its explanation of the activity patterns and work programmes of the Department or Ministry to which it relates. The cost of each programme or scheme and its corresponding benefits are placed in their proper perspective so that a comparative assessment of projects can be made in regard to both the cost and the benefits to be realised. For example, in the case of a nationalised road transport, a programme budget would give figures regarding the mileage covered, the cost per mile, the estimated number of passengers, and the number of buses, waiting rooms, and refreshment rooms per passenger. Take another aspect of developmental planning in this country today—road construction programmes. A programme budget here would show in respect of each major road project, information such as miles to be covered, volume of goods, etc. to be transported during a year, area of the “feeder basin” and the number of people likely to be benefited, cost of construction per mile and the like. Many of these details are, admittedly, taken into consideration at the time of obtaining financial sanctions to particular schemes, but such information is not at present supplied to the legislators and the people in general when the budgets are presented to them.

A programme budget approach does not rule out the existing budgetary procedure and the information and material

contained in existing budget statements. It should rather be considered as an additional statement, *representing* the information contained in the existing budget statements, *in terms of work programmes*. This broad 'activity' statement of any particular department would, in any case, have to be supported by detailed sub-statements showing, the various items and sub-items forming part of any project and the manner in which the costs have been calculated. These sub-statements would be more or less similar in form to the existing budget documents though the classification of heads and sub-heads would require to be modified considerably. What programme budgeting involves, therefore, is not a radical departure from the existing budgetary methods but a reorganisation of the existing procedure to meet the requirements of changed circumstances.

IV

For many government activities, especially in the development sphere, the work-programmes can easily be set in terms of measurable units. In respect of certain development heads of expenditure, such as agriculture, education, community projects, medical facilities, roads, etc., it should not be difficult to break down the budget allocations by work-programmes, to evolve units of measurement and to fix performance targets in terms of these units. For instance, in respect of primary and secondary education, apart from showing the basic targets such as the number of schools, the number of teachers, the percentage of students, etc., it is possible to show the financial aid given per pupil during any particular year and the targets to be achieved in the next and subsequent years. To take another example, suppose a scheme is introduced for giving a glass of milk free of charge to all primary school students at half-time break. The work-programme statement should give comparative figures and targets in respect of schools participating, funds distributed per school, the number of pupils affected, the percentage of the total number of pupils, the number of glasses of milk served, etc. Similarly, in the Community Projects and National Extension Service Blocks, it should be possible to indicate the targets of achievement per villager in respect of the aid given for each aspect of extension activity. Again, the comparative targets achieved and those sought to be achieved can be given. In regard to medical facilities,

calculations are already made on the basis of bed-strength in relation to populations, and cost per bed. These can be further expanded and subdivided to cover various medical schemes.

Broad targets in the case of most development activities are already prescribed and these will be developed further in the course of the finalisation of the Second Five Year Plan. These targets are, however, much too broad for any detailed programme evaluation in cost-benefit terms. It is necessary to follow the process of breaking down targets and costs up to the smallest sub-programme and then to assess the cost-benefit ratio. The planning process has made a beginning in respect of the selection of target units; programme budgeting would carry this process much further, ultimately assisting the planning process.

To the extent that the end-products of certain departments are not measurable by any means, the scope of programme budgeting becomes somewhat limited. A substantial portion of administrative expenditure covering many items which do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement, comes under this category. Again certain facilities such as fire brigades, etc. are specifically designed to meet emergencies if and when they arise; and the amount of work performed in such cases is not, therefore, a measure of their significance. Similarly in research projects and the like the actual results achieved may be a poor index of the amount of work put in. There is, thus, a fairly wide field of governmental activities where targets of achievement cannot be effectively measured. In such cases though it is not possible to define the end-targets and measure actual performance in precise terms, it may still be feasible in most cases to develop significant measures of work-load of subsidiary activities, adding up to the end-target. For example, the volume of different categories of correspondence receipts dealt with might be able to give some indication even though it is not possible to evaluate the work of a Government secretariat in physical terms.

As the methods of measurement are improved and as new means of calculating hitherto non-measurable items are worked out, some of the difficulties experienced at present in respect of items which do not admit of quantitative measurement will largely be resolved. The process cannot, however, be carried too far due to difficulties in regard to the weights to be assigned to subsidiary activities for arriving at the

end-targets and the voluminous data which would require to be collected and processed.

The usefulness of programme budgeting will, therefore, remain restricted in the case of non-development, administrative departments. It is with the developmental heads of expenditure, therefore, that a beginning should be made in respect of programme budgeting. The various programmes and sub-programmes in the developmental sectors can not only be easily translated into measurable targets but there is also in these fields a great need of presenting financial estimates in terms of work-programmes. Later if found necessary and practicable, the programme budget can be extended to fields such as civil administration, police, etc., but initially the programme budget need only be confined to development matters.

V

The introduction of programme budgeting in India would present certain difficulties and involve a number of changes in the existing budgetary practice. The important stages in a shift to programme budgeting are dealt with below :—

The *first* phase to introduce the programme budget method would cover a review and analysis of the current activities of each Department in terms of specific programmes and operations and to divide up the programmes into fairly distinct sub-programmes.

The *second* stage would involve determination, wherever possible, of performance units in terms of which programmes and sub-programmes would be measured and targets of accomplishments or performance fixed in each case. The units of measurement should serve as common denominators both for the costs and the benefits.

The *third* step in the switch-over to the programme budgeting would be a substantial revision of the classification of accounts—the heads and sub-heads of expenditure—so that the accounting system falls in line with the programme-wise allocation of funds. The basis of accounting should be, what may be called the ‘activity’ account. In this context, the term ‘activity’ would mean the smallest possible sub-division of the work-programme. For each ‘activity’ the estimated

expenditure would be shown against certain broad, standardised sub-heads, which, by and large, can be adopted for most programmes. Only the totals would be shown in the programme budget, the details under each sub-head being indicated in the administrative budget. A classification on these lines would not only clearly indicate the cost of any 'activity' and enable a comparative evaluation of different work-programmes in cost-benefit terms, but would also constitute a better way of keeping accounts and watching the progress of expenditure.

The programme-budget approach would also involve the calculation of unit costs in respect of various developmental programmes. Standardisation of unit costs, though practised to some extent in most Governmental departments, would have to be more comprehensive than at present. The various cost factors which receive scant attention must be duly taken into account. Detailed cost accounting, however, is not an essential feature of programme budgeting; though wherever in vogue, it should be fully utilised. The problem is more that of statistics rather than of detailed cost accounting, and it undoubtedly necessitates accurate and up-to-date statistical information over a wide field.

The programme budget can now be drawn up. The budget should define the general objectives and scope of activity of each branch of the administrative organisation such as a Ministry or Department, and then proceed to deal with each programme or sub-programme. For each sub-programme, the physical targets of achievement and the cost per target-unit should first be given and thereafter the estimated expenditure should be indicated along certain broad sub-heads.

VI

As already observed, the programme budget would not replace the existing administrative budget but would only supplement it. The existing departmental budgets would continue to be prepared as at present but with certain modifications. The classification of expenditure should be the one adopted for the programme budget. While the programme budget would give the revenue figures in broad outline only, the administrative budget should set out full details for each source of revenue and sub-head of expenditure. In respect of activities which cannot easily be translated into measurable

terms and which are not covered by the programme budget, the administrative budget should also give all such background information as would be of interest to the legislators and taxpayers.

The shift to programme budget would not be easy by any means. It would make budgeting more of a technical process and also necessitate the merging of the planning and budgetary processes; the actual stage at which the two should merge being a matter of detail but merger at some stage being necessary to gain the full benefits of sound budgeting. Again, while Central guidance and assistance would be absolutely necessary, the different States would obviously have to be allowed flexibility in working out of a programme-budget approach best suited to their needs. A completely uniform classification and procedure to be followed by all States would neither be desirable nor practicable in the long run.

The implications of adopting a programme-budget approach for this country as for any other country are very far-reaching from the administrative point of view. Only such an approach can, in the opinion of the writer, meet the very pressing need for a complete reorientation of the budgeting and accounting systems and the challenge which the changed circumstances—a manifold expansion of development activity and an enormous increase in the welfare functions—are presenting to the administrative machinery in this country.

Public Service Examinations— A Peep Behind the Scenes

N. S. Mani

EXAMINATIONS all the world over have held a certain mystic quality. It is not merely the ultimate result in terms of success or failure but the mechanism of the process itself and how it operates that are often the subject of considerable speculation. This is especially so in the case of examinations for recruitment to services and posts under the Government. In very many cases, the unsuccessful candidate gives himself up to the belief that either the questions set for the examination were too stiff, or one or more examiners had not been vigilant enough to notice all the answers attempted by him, or the examining body had committed some grievous error in transferring the marks from the scripts to the tabulation sheet. It is indeed remarkable how many requests examining bodies receive from unsuccessful candidates for "further scrutiny" of scripts. More often than not, the approach has no more justification than the marks belie the candidate's expectation and so "there must be some mistake"! I can recall a case where, after the result of an important examination had been announced, a candidate enquired how it was possible that, in the same subject, he could have failed to reach the qualifying standard in the lower paper when he had been given high marks in the higher paper. To the bulk of the people, and to the candidates especially, the "inside story" of examination is, therefore, still very much of a mystery. An attempt is made in this article to explain briefly the basic principles and the procedure adopted in the conduct of examinations for recruitment to the public services.

The conduct of examinations is indeed a very complicated affair. It requires a good deal of advance planning and attention to detail at every stage, especially where the examination has to be conducted simultaneously at several centres all over the country and abroad. Above all, secrecy has to be scrupulously maintained with regard to the names of examiners, arrangements for printing question papers

and the custody of the papers until they are distributed to candidates on the day appointed for the examination in each subject, as also in respect of the valuation of scripts. These are exacting requirements when a number of examinations have to be conducted each year and a very large number of candidates have to be examined in a variety of subjects and the standard varies from one examination to another.

The examining bodies, at least for the higher services and posts under Government, are invariably the Public Service Commissions set up under the Constitution at the Centre and in the States. This itself should afford sufficient guarantee of the high objectivity and impartiality of the selections made. There is all the more reason that the Commissions should satisfy themselves that the *internal checks and safeguards* provided are adequate to ensure that every candidate gets a square deal.

The first obvious step for the examining body is to settle a scheme of each examination in consultation with the appointing authority. The details of the scheme would depend on the requirements of the service to which recruitment is to be made. These in turn, must be related to the duties and responsibilities the selected candidates will be expected to assume. It is a recognised feature of all examinations that in addition to the special knowledge needed for the particular service, the candidate should be tested from the point of view of general education and intelligence, critical faculty, ability to think clearly and to express thoughts briefly and effectively in the official language. This is at present done through certain compulsory papers on General English, English Essay and General Knowledge. For the higher administrative services, it is necessary to recruit candidates with high academic attainments. The syllabus for the examination thus has to include a large number of optional subjects from which the candidates can make their choice in accordance with their own chosen field of study. The number of such optional papers a candidate is required to select is also related to the degree of importance attached to the particular examination. For instance, in the examination for the Indian Police Service, it is considered sufficient for the candidate to select two such optional papers. For the higher Central Services, three optional subjects have to be chosen. For the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Foreign Service, the candidates are compelled to take no less than five optional

papers selected from a group so made as to compel the candidate to go outside the range of subjects which he may have studied at the University. For purely technical services and posts, however, the range of optional subjects is often restricted to a small number from the scientific and allied technical fields.

Having decided on the common and compulsory papers and the number of optional papers that should be provided, the aggregate marks to be set apart for each such paper have to be settled. In doing this, care must be taken that undue weightage is not given to any one paper or category of papers. The proportion between the aggregate marks for the compulsory papers and those for the optional papers also needs to be carefully looked into because, in a competitive examination, candidates must know beforehand how they should prepare themselves and what degree of attention should be paid to the various subjects which they select.

The syllabus in each subject has to be related to the standard of the examination, which in turn depends on the age-groups to which the candidates are restricted and the educational qualifications demanded of them. For example, the Matriculation standard may suffice for selection of candidates for a clerical service from the lower age-groups up to 18 or for admission to the Indian Navy, the National Defence Academy and the Military College, whereas, for higher ministerial and supervisory posts and for the superior administrative services, nothing less than a degree of a recognised University would do.

The rules laying down the conditions of eligibility and defining the scheme of the examination and the syllabus in each subject are generally published at least six months ahead of the probable date of commencement of the examination, and applications are called for simultaneously. At least eight clear weeks from the date of advertisement are generally allowed before the last date for receipt of applications. Candidates residing abroad are given an additional fortnight.

The next step is to appoint suitable persons to set and moderate the question papers and to evaluate the answers. The examiners should be men of high intellectual calibre, integrity and circumspection and of a high standing in the academic world, preferably with recent personal experience of handling students in the age-groups from which candidates

for the examination would be drawn, and having knowledge of their average mental development and capacity. The examining body maintains a panel of examiners drawn up on the above considerations in consultation with universities and teaching institutions of repute. Selections are invariably made from such panels, but, in rare cases outside or *ad hoc* examiners are also taken if necessary. For maintaining uniformity of standard from year to year and ensuring that the questions fall within the prescribed syllabus, a set of question papers used for previous examinations is furnished to each examiner for his guidance. A time-limit is also set for the receipt of question papers in manuscript from the examiners. The necessity for drawing up a time schedule covering each stage of the examination and strictly adhering to it cannot be over-emphasised. In the interest of maintaining secrecy, the examining body has also to issue instructions explaining fully the precautions that should be taken by the examiners. For example, the examiner may have to be told that he should not retain a copy of the question paper set by him and that he should furnish a certificate to the examining authority, along with the question paper, that no such copy exists. Generally no examiner should require more than a fortnight or at the most three weeks to complete the task assigned to him.

After their receipt from the examiners, the question papers are referred to certain other reputed scholars or experts in each branch of knowledge for an opinion as to the suitability of the papers from the point of view of the prescribed syllabus, the standard of the examination and the time allowed to candidates for answering the papers. The names of these "moderators" cannot be divulged even to the examiners, for obvious reasons. They should, however, be persons whom the examiners themselves would have no difficulty in acknowledging as being competent in every respect to assess their work and express an opinion upon it. It must be open to the "moderator" to suggest amendments to the questions set by the examiners or to themselves carry out the amendments or even to propose a fresh set of questions if the amendments would be too many. The work of moderation has also to be completed within a reasonable time, a fortnight being the usual limit. The papers are then finally considered and approved by the examining body.

In selecting examiners and moderators, their regional distribution has to be borne in mind. It may not be desirable to have too many examiners or moderators from the same region. The examining body has to ensure absolute fairness and impartiality in all phases of the examination process and to provide safeguards even against unconscious bias creeping in. Also, as a measure of ordinary prudence, all examiners and moderators, before the work is actually entrusted to them, have to be asked to certify that no one in whom they are interested would be appearing for the examination, to the best of their knowledge. If any of them is unable to furnish the certificate, it is only proper that he should decline the work offered to him.

A necessary security precaution is to furnish to each examiner, moderator or any other person who would be handling the manuscript or printed question paper at any stage of the examination, a specimen impression of the seal the examining body would be using, even before the paper is despatched by post or by any other means, and to require such persons to communicate to the examining body by telegram immediately on receipt of the paper whether the seals used on the packets had been found intact. In fact, the proper and expeditious handling of secret correspondence is the greatest among the worries the examining body has to face.

The next stage is the receipt and scrutiny of applications. Each application on receipt is numbered either by machine or by hand and that number is assigned as the roll number of the candidate. It has also to be verified simultaneously whether the prescribed examination fee in the shape of a Treasury Receipt or a Postal Order has accompanied the application. The application is then taken up for detailed scrutiny with reference to the prescribed conditions of eligibility. The time consumed in this process necessarily varies in accordance with the importance of the examination, the number of candidates who apply and the staff available. Generally speaking, the examining body takes about two months for the scrutiny of applications received. Each application is invariably acknowledged and the roll number communicated to the candidate. In cases of doubtful eligibility, the admission of a candidate is treated as provisional until after the necessary further

enquiry has been made. Refunds of the examination fee are made to candidates whose applications are rejected.

Soon after the publication of the rules action is initiated in the matter of selection of the venue of the examination. The examination may be held at more than one centre, not only within the country but also abroad. The decisions at this stage are bound to be tentative but have to be taken, nevertheless, on the basis of an intelligent anticipation of the number of candidates likely to appear at each centre. Correspondence on the same basis has also to be commenced in regard to accommodation and services of supervisory personnel at each centre. The final selection of the venue or venues at each centre can be made only after the number of candidates who have been admitted to the examination at each centre is known. The detailed arrangements at each centre, including the choice of invigilators and the number of answer books and other material to be supplied to the centre, have to be completed as soon as possible after completion of the scrutiny of applications by the examining body.

The number of copies of each question paper to be printed would also depend on the number of candidates admitted to the examination and the subjects they offer. Where the number of candidates is large and there is a wide choice of subjects, arrangement of the time-table *i.e.* the fixation of the dates for particular papers becomes very complicated and difficult. The use of mechanical sorting equipment where available can simplify the process and ensure accuracy. Such machines are, however, very expensive. The printed question papers have to be obtained at least three weeks before the scheduled date of commencement of the examination so as to allow sufficient time for comparing them with the manuscripts and for packing and despatching them to the various centres. The supervisor in charge of each centre is asked to acknowledge the sealed packets of question papers at least a week before the examination is due to commence. Here again, the necessary security precautions have to be observed.

Admission certificates to candidates have to reach them at least a month before the commencement of the examination; otherwise they would be put to needless anxiety and might also find it difficult to make adjustments in their programmes sufficiently in advance.

In the actual conduct of the examinations at each centre, the supervisor and the invigilators have to be guided by certain standard instructions drawn up by the examining body. The object is threefold : to provide for the safe custody of the sealed packets of question papers until they are opened and distributed to the candidates, to ensure close and effective invigilation during the examination and to see that the scripts are duly verified and despatched to the examining body, along with a full statement of account relating to the number of printed question papers and the quantity of scripts and other material actually used up out of the total supply made.

The next stage is the valuation of scripts. The work is ordinarily entrusted to the examiner who has set the paper. But it may happen that a very large number of candidates have taken the examination in that paper and a single examiner cannot value all the scripts. As a general rule, an examiner cannot value more than 350 or 400 scripts without excessive strain upon himself, if the result of the examination is to be published without undue delay. However, the appointment of additional examiners brings in its wake a number of problems. One examiner's standard of valuation may not be the same as that of another, and it becomes very important, therefore, that suitable steps should be devised in order that uniformity of the standard may be maintained. For this purpose, the examining body asks the examiner who has set the question paper, whom we shall call the head examiner, to draft such instructions as he may consider necessary for the guidance of the additional examiners. These instructions will be in addition to the model answers which too the head examiner is asked to provide wherever possible. As a further precaution, each additional examiner is required to send the first 25 scripts valued by him to the head examiner for comments, and to revise the valuation of those scripts and take up the valuation of the remaining scripts in the light of such comments. Where the examination is for recruitment to an important service and, therefore, calls for more than ordinary care in the maintenance of uniformity of assessment of the scripts, a conference of the head examiner with the additional examiners is arranged, and a free exchange of views on the question paper and the principles and procedures to be followed in the valuation of the script takes place. A few scripts actually valued by each additional examiner are

also jointly discussed. A check, on a random sampling basis, by the head examiner, of scripts valued by the other examiners is also resorted to for ensuring uniformity of marking.

After all the scripts have been returned after valuation by the head examiner and the additional examiners, the examining body is in a position to tabulate the marks awarded to each candidate in each subject. The tabulation has to be done with the greatest care and at least two independent checks may be necessary beforehand to ensure that all the answers found in the several parts of each script have been valued and the marks have been totalled up correctly. If any portion of the script has escaped valuation, or there are grounds *prima facie* to suspect that the examiner had not applied his mind adequately to a particular answer, the entire script is sent back to him for further scrutiny.

Before the examining body produces the final result, some further checks are applied in order to be absolutely certain that the necessary uniformity of the standard of valuation has been in fact attained. A comparison is made of the averages of the percentage of marks awarded by each examiner and by the head examiner in each subject, and, if in the same subject there is a marked variation in the averages of the different examiners, the reasons therefor are looked into closely. Generally, the scripts relating to a particular centre are sent for valuation to examiners residing in some other part of the country so that local influences that may come into play at each centre are completely excluded from the awards given by the examiners. The examining body knows which scripts have been sent to which examiner. If, therefore, the average percentage of marks awarded by any one examiner is appreciably above or below the averages of other examiners in the same subject, the first line of investigation is to examine how the same candidates have fared in other subjects. Should their performance in the other subjects be equally good or bad, the inference that can be drawn is that the variation in the average of that examiner is due rather to the comparatively superior or inferior mental equipment of the candidates, as the case may be, than to the operation of any personal element of the examiner concerned. If, on the other hand, these candidates are neither better nor worse than the others, the examining body has to moderate the marks awarded by the examiner

so as to raise or lower the average to the level of the general average of the rest of the examiners. In attempting such moderation, the examining body takes also into consideration the averages pertaining to the same subject in the same examination for the previous two or three years.

The final result, arrived at in this manner, is the basis for the selection of candidates to fill the vacancies notified. In an open competitive examination, it would appear sufficient at first sight to select as many candidates as there are vacancies from among those who obtain the topmost positions in the order of aggregate marks secured by them. Actually, however, the procedure for selection is not so simple as that. For every examination, there has to be a minimum qualifying standard or a standard of minimum suitability depending on the intrinsic requirements of the service. That is to say, unless in the opinion of the examining body a candidate has given sufficient proof of basic fitness to be admitted to the service, he cannot be grouped with other candidates of the same category for the purpose of a competitive selection. It is theoretically possible, even though it seldom happens in practice, that even the highest aggregate of marks obtained by a candidate at the examination may fall below the qualifying standard. Selections are, therefore, subject to the candidates' attaining the qualifying standard or the standard of minimum suitability. Before making the actual selection, however, the examining body has to give special consideration to candidates belonging to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, for whom a certain percentage of the vacancies may have been reserved. It is open to the examining body to relax the qualifying standard or the standard of minimum suitability in favour of those candidates provided the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration would not be prejudiced thereby. The examining body selects at least 10 or 12 candidates in excess of the number of vacancies notified, to cover possible rejections on medical and other grounds.

For recruitment to important administrative services such as the Indian Administrative Service, Indian Foreign Service, Indian Audit & Accounts Service, the Income Tax Service, Class I and the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways and to such technical services as the Indian Railway Service of Engineers, the Central Engineering Service, Class I, the Telegraph Engineering Service, Class I, and the Survey of India, the written examination is followed

by a personality test. Candidates have to obtain a certain minimum percentage of marks in the aggregate of the compulsory and lower optional papers before they can be called for interview. This percentage is decided by the examining body well in advance of the date of commencement of the interview. It will be readily conceded that a certain qualifying standard has to be laid down to define eligibility for interview and all candidates cannot be summoned for interview as a matter of course irrespective of their performance in the written examination, judged by that standard. The examining body also lays down a separate qualifying standard for the personality test. Any candidate who fails to attain that standard in the personality test will naturally not be entitled to selection, however good his performance in the written examination may be. On this ground, doubts have been expressed in some quarters whether the personality test at all serves any useful purpose and, in any event, whether it should be given so much importance as to rule out candidates who may have done exceptionally well in the written examination. This, however, is entirely a different issue and does not fall within the scope of the present article.

That in brief is the "inside story" of examinations. The production of results neither belongs to the realm of fantasy nor is it derived from a whimsical approach; rather it is the culmination of a process which had commenced six months earlier with the publication of the rules and had been urged forward from one stage to another along the most rational and scientific lines.

Integration in Welfare Administration

S. P. Mohite

[In his article on 'The Structure of Development Administration' published in April-June, 1955 (Vol. 1, No. 2) issue of this *Journal*, *Shri U. L. Goswami* argued against the integration, at the present moment, of the regulatory and developmental functions below the level of the Sub-Divisional Officer. *Shri Mohite*, in the present article, defends the application of the integration principle up to the *Gram Serak*, a practice followed in the Bombay State. Both *Shri Goswami* and *Shri Mohite* have been directly concerned with the policy and execution in the field of community projects and development. We invite further contributions on the subject, based on the personal experience of others similarly engaged.—*Ed.*]

NOW that the Planning Commission have taken a decision to extend the National Extension Service Scheme to the whole country by 1961 and to convert 40 per cent. of the National Extension Service Blocks into Community Development Blocks during the same period, the question of setting up a proper administrative organisation for the Community Development and National Extension Service areas assumes great importance. Any errors that may be committed now will, in the course of next few years, magnify themselves manifold and the task of rectifying these will, by no means, be easy. In this context the Bombay system of 'integration', with its emphasis on transforming the existing executive and development machinery into a welfare agency, has evoked considerable interest and also some adverse criticism. To those critics of the Bombay system whose attitude is summed up in the dictum : "the best way to guarantee that a good man will not use a gun is to deny him the possession of the gun", one can only say that the logic of this argument can only result in creating division, very artificial and unnatural, in the functions of State at all levels. The supporters of this stand are perhaps happily few. By and large the greater majority of persons, associated with the administration of the Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes, may like to study the Bombay system in greater detail, and if an objective analysis of its working so justifies, to consider its introduction in their own States.

For proper appreciation of the Bombay system a brief description of some of its more important features may obviously prove very helpful to those not intimately acquainted with it.

In the Bombay State, unlike most other States, the boundaries of Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks are co-extensive with those of the existing administrative boundaries of *talukas*.* The financial provision for these Blocks is made in proportion to their population at the rate of Rs. 4.5 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs per 66,000 population in the National Extension Service and Community Development Blocks respectively. In other words, instead of carving out territorial blocks to suit population and financial provision, the financial provision is adjusted to suit administrative convenience. The *Prant Officer* (Sub-Divisional Officer) has been designated as Prant-cum-Project Officer in respect of a Community Development Block and the *Mamlatdar* (Circle Officer) as the Block Development Officer in respect of a National Extension Service Block. The *Prant Officer*, in whose area a National Extension Service Block is included, is also placed in charge of the National Extension Service Block. On the *Prant Officer*, under the overall control of the Collector and technical guidance of Heads of technical offices in the district, falls the main responsibility for initiating, supervising and controlling development activities. Delegation of administrative and financial powers on a considerable scale has been made in favour of the *Prant Officer*.

In order to give to the *Prant Officer* adequate relief on the revenue and general administration side, either his jurisdiction has been reduced from 4 to 2 *talukas* or an Assistant Project Officer (in *Tehsildar's* grade) given. For the same purpose the *Mamlatdar*, as Block Development Officer, is given the assistance of one or two Extra *Aval Karkuns* (*Naib Tehsildars* or Assistant Circle Officers). There is further a strong team of specialists, as prescribed in the Community Project Administration pattern, to provide the necessary technical knowledge and guidance at the headquarters of each Block.

* The sub-units of a Sub-Division of an administrative District in India are known differently in different States, e. g. *Tehsil*, *Taluka* or *Circle*. The officer immediately in charge of the sub-unit is referred to as *Tehsildar*, *Circle Officer*, etc. In Bombay he is called *Mamlatdar*.

At the village level, a new cadre of 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* (village level workers) is formed by pooling together the existing number of Circle Inspectors, Agricultural Assistants and Co-operative Supervisors. As a result, where previously a Circle Inspector had from 20 to 25 villages, an Agricultural Assistant from 20 to 30 and a Co-operative Supervisor from 50 to 60, each of them, as an 'integrated' *Gram Sevak*, has now 7 or 8 villages within his area. The area covered by an Agricultural Assistant or a Co-operative Supervisor was so large that the villagers hardly felt his presence. The activities of the Agriculture and Co-operative Departments were also not linked up with those of Revenue Officers, which touched village life at many points. The 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* are required to do revenue work in addition to development work under the National Extension Service and Community Development Programmes, and their work load will obviously be heavier than that of a Circle Inspector, Agricultural Assistant or a Co-operative Supervisor. In order, therefore, to reduce this work load, the number of such 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* in each Block has been increased to the extent of requirements of each *taluka*, determined with reference to its population, number of villages, means of communications, backwardness, etc.

As adverse criticism has clouded many of the issues connected with this system, it is necessary to state some of its obvious merits.

First, the system is not an experiment. The Oxford dictionary defines an "experiment" as "a procedure tried on the chance of success or as a test". The Bombay system is, by no means, an administrative system adopted on the chance of success or as a test, but the logical and inevitable step in the evolution of the existing administrative machinery into a welfare agency. It may, perhaps, be more appropriate to describe those systems as "experiments" which seek to create a separate and parallel development machinery.

Secondly, the system does not seek to bring in the 'influence' of the Revenue Department in development work or to employ any non-extension methods. In fact, the cry of 'coercion' raised against the revenue officials in the Bombay State has been found to be baseless even by the critics of the system. It may reassure those who entertain any doubts

on this point to know that a recent Statewise probe by the Bombay Government to detect any authoritarian attitudes on the part of the 'integrated' *Gram Sevaks* could unearth only one such case—that of a *Gram Sevak*, who, instead of approaching people at their own houses, was sending for them at the village *Chaodi* (police post). In the circumstances, a constant harping on the theme of 'coercion' or loose talk of "revenue mentality" and "revenue methods" can only be taken to reveal a considerable ignorance of the significant changes which have taken place in most parts of the country since Independence. It is the hope of the proponents of the system—a hope not unjustified by current experience—that not before long all the revenue functions will also be performed by purely extension methods.

Thirdly, the system does not seek to abolish specialists at all levels, and to substitute them by multi-purpose workers. On the contrary, under the system, the cadres of specialists are strengthened at the appropriate levels, and efforts made to relieve them of many of the non-technical administrative functions which today reduce their efficacy as technical experts.

Fourthly, the system has not been introduced merely with a view to effecting economy in administrative expenditure and requirements of personnel, though in view of the limited resources—both in finance and adequately trained personnel—this aspect of the question cannot be entirely brushed aside.

The Bombay system is not a sudden administrative phenomenon. In introducing it, the Bombay Government have carefully considered the experience, gained in the past in the working of various experiments in rural development, conducted in different parts of the country such as at Sevagram in Madhya Pradesh, the Firka Development Scheme in Madras, the Sarvodaya centres in Bombay State, Etawah and Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh and other centres which are, perhaps, less well-known. These experiments led to the realisation that the functioning of a large number of departments at the village level was a hindrance to the development work. To quote the Planning Commission :

“When different departments of the Government approach the villager, each from the aspect of its own work, the effect on the villager is apt to be confusing and no permanent impression is

created. The peasant's life is not cut into segments in the way the Government's activities are apt to be; the approach to the villager has, therefore, to be a co-ordinated one and has to comprehend his whole life. Such an approach has to be made, not through a multiplicity of departmental officials, but through an agent common at least to the principal departments engaged in rural work whom it is now customary to describe as the village level worker."*

The necessity for a 'multi-purpose' worker at the village level was also realised and emphasised by the "Grow More Food Enquiry Committee" appointed in 1952. The decision of the Bombay Government, to integrate the functions of the main departments at the village level is, therefore, very timely.

In this connection, it is very instructive to recall the following views of Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission :

"The significant thing about the administrative arrangements is that they aim at the transformation of the existing *general* administrative cadres of Government into Welfare Cadres rather than the establishment of a separate Welfare Cadre distinct from the normal machinery of the Government. This implies that the machinery which was at one time devised to look after the functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order is being changed into a Welfare Administration and the resources of all Development Departments of Government are being utilised to the maximum advantage for a concerted attack on the problem of rural development."†

The 'integration' effected by the Bombay State is thus both a natural result of experience of welfare work in the past and is in consonance with the views of the authors of the National Extension Service Scheme.

* "First Five Year Plan", p. 223.

† "The National Extension Movement", p. 11, CPA, March 1955.

Equally important with the above reasons for introducing the 'multi-purpose' worker at the village level was the urgent need for the re-orientation of the administrative machinery. The Bombay Government strongly felt that without a change in the outlook and structure of the basic administrative machinery no programme could be expected to make a permanent contribution to the welfare of the people. The aim of the Community Development and National Extension Service Programmes was therefore as much to bring about a transformation in the administrative machinery as to create a similar change in the attitude of the rural population. It was also recognised that the latter change could best come about only when the executive officers of Government at all levels occupied a position not so much of well-wishing observers but of active participants. To the critics who were inclined to say that human nature being what it was such a transformation could not be effected, it was pointed out that the Community Development Programme itself was based on the faith that it was possible to bring about necessary changes in mental attitudes of the people.

The 'integrated' system of administration has been functioning in the Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks of the Bombay State now for two years and though this is too short a period for making any sweeping generalisations, it is possible to enumerate some of the trends which are clearly discernible. A single line of administration from the *Gram Sevak* to the Development Commissioner has resulted in a considerable increase in efficiency and consequently in the tempo of development activities. A high degree of co-ordination between the activities of various Departments has been brought about, thus avoiding overlapping and 'frictional loss' within the administrative machinery. The villager is no longer bewildered by the multiplicity of departments at the village level, and is beginning to feel that a development machinery capable of delivering the goods, is in the process of creation. Lastly—this is a result to which the Bombay Government attach the greatest importance—a process of gradual transformation has already begun to take place in the administrative machinery, giving rise to the hope that, in the near future, an administrative machinery completely suited to the needs of a Welfare State would have been evolved. The system, therefore, even in so short a time stands completely vindicated by the logic of results,

In his article entitled "The Structure of Development Administration" published in the second issue of *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* Shri Goswami has stated : "Combination of functions, regulatory and developmental, in the same functionary is a bit of an administrative tight rope-walking in the case of all persons. It is a question of degree. But the difficulty is infinitely greater at levels below that of the Sub-Divisional Officer. A time will come when further extension of this principle of integration will not be impossible but there are clear indications that the time is not yet" (p. 117). To expect that such a transformation can take place at a later stage, when the administrative structure has become enlarged and the creation of two hierarchies has created psychological barriers in the way of 'integration' is, to say the least, optimistic. The psychological difficulty is as real as the administrative one and if we allow two official hierarchies to develop—one with an attitude "holier than thou" and the other with an outlook "wiser than thou"—and thus bedevil the life in our villages, the chances of a sound and effective system of welfare administration evolving amidst this confusion are slim indeed. If transformation of the existing administrative machinery into a welfare agency is one of the major accepted objectives before the country today, a decision to introduce 'integration' on a countrywide basis should not be further delayed.

Public Service Unions in the United States

Anand K. Srivastava

WITH the growing expansion of governmental activities in welfare and development fields and increase in the number of public enterprises, employer-employee relations in government have assumed a special importance. The question is how are employer-employee disputes to be settled when the government is a party to the dispute : through an administrative fiat, through legislative action, or through collective bargaining with employees' organisations? Every country has to find its own answer to this question for itself in the light of its own systems, traditions and circumstances. But it is always useful to know what answers other countries have found. In this article an attempt has been made to set out what appears to be the current thought and practice in this regard in the U.S.A.

II

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census the federal, state, and local governments in the United States excluding the armed forces, employ roughly six million men and women. This is almost twelve times the number of coal miners or five times the number of railroad workers in that country.

In private employment, the freedom to form unions and to bargain collectively for better employment conditions and the right to strike in certain circumstances, are recognised generally and are subject only to the federal and state laws on the subject. But in the case of public servants, because of the special position of the state in society, the government maintains that it must have the right of determining finally all relationships between it and those who earn their livelihood by serving it.

In practice, this assertion does not wholly work out. The Lloyd-La Follete Act of 1912 conceded federal employees the right to organise and affiliate with outside labour movements. Public employees do influence their conditions of

work by lobbying in the Congress and by other processes akin to collective bargaining. Sometimes they strike too, though this right is seriously questioned as running counter to the nature of the state.

III

Sometimes it is argued that the state which is the sovereign authority in society and which, in a democracy, represents the collective will of the whole community should be allowed to perform its functions unhampered. The unionisation of the public services might lead to situations in which the state's work is obstructed and its authority defied. A little consideration shows that all governmental activity is not related to the sovereignty of the state. Some functions like law enforcement, defence, and foreign affairs obviously fall in that class; but others such as maintenance of postal services, provision of schools, colleges and hospitals, transport and communications services, etc., quite obviously do not.

The activities of the second type performed by the government are similar to those carried out by private organisations in trade and industry. The government does not give more to the community by performing these activities than do the private operators. The point is forcefully illustrated when an industry like coal is nationalised. The nature of the coal miner's work does not change overnight. There seems little logic in allowing the right to organise for some trades in private industry and denying the right in similar government industries.

Nor does the inconvenience to society caused by a stoppage of these secondary services to society by a strike of public employees seem to be the appropriate criterion for forbidding unionisation. "A strike of privately employed milk drivers in a large city would no doubt cause more inconvenience than a strike of municipal park attendants."*

In the field of the sovereign functions of the state, the right to organise may well be denied on the ground that the uniqueness of these governmental functions do not admit of any interruption. But here again if certain private services

* Spero, Sterling D., *The Labour Movement in a Government Industry*, p. 11.

like the telephone or telegraph or city lighting, are broken down by strikes the sovereign functions of state, like law enforcement, would still be crippled.

In a democracy it seems better to fix the conditions of service of public employees in consultation with them, than autocratically through an administrative fiat. This is not a negation of the state's sovereignty, as it only amounts to laying down a method to carry out its functions. The state always retains the power to replace this method in favour of some other one. It is somewhat like having a Civil Service Commission to make appointments in the merit system—the Commission's presence is not an abridgment of the power of the legislature.

Perhaps the only services where the right to organise or strike can unquestionably be denied are the armed forces, services charged with the maintenance of order, and essential services. Indeed the right to associate is one of the basic freedoms which cannot be denied to any class of citizens and even if the state wishes to do so it could not prevent public servants as such from forming their own associations. That does not, however, mean that the association is recognised as a trade union empowered to engage in collective bargaining. In practice, employee unions are well established in the postal and clerical forces of the federal government in the U.S.A. and in government corporations. They also exist in large cities and states with permanent staff. The system of collective bargaining is prevalent over a very wide field in the public services though the position regarding the right to strike does not appear to have received judicial clarification.

IV

Before discussing the achievements and the limitations of public service unionisation in the United States, it would be useful to take a close look into the process of collective bargaining which is the medium through which unions operate.

Collective bargaining is the procedure by which an employer or several employers, and a group of employees agree upon the condition of work. Collective bargaining is primarily concerned with wages, but it also extends to hours of work, compensation for overtime, conditions of hiring and firing, and a great many similar matters.

Collective bargaining does not guarantee to the employer a continuous supply of workmen, or to the employees a satisfactory number of jobs. It only determines the terms and conditions in which the work under the employer is accepted by the employee. The job contract is still between the individual workman and the employer.

The history of collective bargaining and labour unions is inseparable, for there can be no joint negotiations on the terms and conditions of work unless the employees are organised to present a unified demand. This requires a union, and is true whether the employer is a single capitalist, a large corporation, or the state.

Some aspects of collective bargaining in private industry are obviously inapplicable to public service agreements. Thus the closed shop would be illegal in public service, nor would the state ever check off union dues compulsorily from the pay roll. The right to strike is the ultimate weapon of the employees in private industry, but its validity in public service is still doubtful. "So far as is known, courts have never been called upon to pass directly upon the right of government employees to strike."†

"The essence of collective bargaining", in the public service, "lies not in the scope of the matters under the employing agencies' control, or in the form in which the agreement is published but in the attitude of the parties towards the process of free negotiations, give and take, and discussion of issues leading to an understanding which both sides intend to carry out."*

It is in the independent jurisdictions like the Tennessee Valley Authority that collective bargaining has developed most successfully. Collective bargaining has strengthened executive responsibility here.

Government corporations cannot function without a large degree of freedom in their day-to-day affairs. Once this principle is conceded, a free hand in labour relations

† White, Leonard D., *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, p. 461.

* Spero, Sterling D., *Government as Employer*, p. 350.

follows. If the management uses its freedom to fix wages and conditions of work arbitrarily, it cannot get away with it for long. Ultimately the workers must carry their appeal to the legislature over the head of the administrator. Frequent interference of the legislature with the administrator will only hamstring the management, limit its discretion and lower efficiency. But where collective bargaining results in workers having a voice in the determination of working conditions there is no need to appeal to the legislature. Joint consultations strengthen the hand of the executive. As President Roosevelt once observed, "collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand in the T.V.A."

Collective bargaining and unionisation of the federal employees have made some fundamental improvements in personnel practices and working conditions. The presence of the unions is reported to have served as a check on inroads into the merit system. They have also accomplished the passage of the Classification Act of 1923 and the Welch Act of 1928; the repeal of the personnel provisions in the Economy Act of 1932; and have played an important part in support of the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Postmaster Act of 1938, the Reorganisation Act of 1939, the revision of the Retirement Act and the Pay Acts of 1940. The unions have thus led the way towards the development of a co-operative administrative organisation which is essential for a democratic government to achieve.

On the positive side of collective bargaining must also be counted the fact that government workers frequently harm the public service considerably by failing to call their grievances to public attention. Between 1893 and 1919 the increase in average salary of federal employees was 20.5% while the retail prices of food rose by 159%. This must have resulted in a failure to attract able personnel and led to a heavy turnover both of which must have harmed the federal service more than a strike.*

The great danger of collective bargaining and unionisation is that they may lead to a concentration of political power at a most dangerous place. The fear that unity

* Spero, Sterling D., *The Labour Movement in a Government Industry*, p. 34.

created by public service unions may lead to an entrenched bureaucracy irresponsibly dictating to the legislature is not a new thing. As far back as 1867 Disraeli feared that the enfranchised civil servants might use their political power "illegitimately to increase the remuneration they received for their services".

Employee organisations which become too powerful or come under the domination of extremist elements can also force the civil servants into improper political activities, destroy their impartiality and corrupt public life.

The concentration of political power in the hands of public employees could lead to undesirable results in another direction. This would be tying up the hands of the Executive. It has been observed that public employee unions have generally shied from the exercise of administrative discretion. They overstress the security aspect of employment and favour rigidity in administrative process for protection of their members. The unions have also resisted speed-up policies and efficiency measures.

Perhaps the worst thing brought to light by half a century of public employee unionism is the over zealousness of the employee organisations to defend their members in all circumstances. What influence this will have on discipline and administrative efficiency should the unions succeed in having their way, can only be imagined.

V

Public service unions in the U.S.A. have to contend with a number of practical difficulties in carrying out collective bargaining and negotiation in public employment. The "white-collar" government workers are at a disadvantage in that they do not know who exactly to bargain with, for improving their conditions. In a great many immediate matters it is no doubt the administrative head of the government department or agency who is the employer. But his authority is strictly limited. Some of the procedures he follows are laid down by the Congress, others by the Civil Service Commission. The administrative head is not in a position to make a final commitment on behalf of the Government as a private employer's agent can.

In the circumstances, the employee union turns from its immediate employer, the administrator, to its ultimate employer which is the Congress. They lobby and try to win the support and bring organised pressure to bear on government through the legislators.

But the public servants have a real difficulty here. The legislative process in the U.S.A. is slow and cumbersome. Years may pass before anything happens. The legislature is too preoccupied with more vital affairs of the state to pay heed easily to civil service reform. Besides, the average politician is not very interested in the civil service because the merit system has restricted his patronage. Two further disadvantages operate. The legislator is apt to cash on the general distrust of the "bureaucracy", and the political disabilities of public employees make it impossible for them to advocate openly the reward or punishment of political friends or foes.*

On the whole, the picture is not all black. The public employee organisation can affiliate with the labour movement which helps them in securing approval of their requests by Congress, in appearances before legislative committees, and in publicity and aid for defeat of certain Congressional candidates.† The politicians sometimes become interested in public employee union movements when they feel that sufficient popular sentiment attaches with the movement. But the general disadvantages in dealing directly with the legislature are obvious.

One method of overcoming this disadvantage is the Whitley Council System developed in Britain. The National Whitley Council consists of 54 members, half of which represent the national staff side and the other half the national official side. The representatives of the staff side are only from employee organisations. The decisions are arrived at by agreement between the two sides, and not by votes. There are about 70 similar bodies in the various Government departments.

* Mosher, William E., and others, *Public Personnel Administration*, p. 335.

† White, *ibid*, p. 461.

There is, of course, no surrender of Parliament's authority to the Whitley Council. Unless the official side agrees there can be no agreement. The official side acts directly on orders of the Cabinet which is responsible to Parliament, so in effect the official side is making Parliament's commitment.

Under the system of "separation of powers" which obtains in the United States, it is difficult for the national Executive to give a commitment binding on the legislature. Since Congress frequently refuses to carry out the Executive's recommendation it is impossible, in the U.S.A., to adopt the Whitley System without modifications.

VI

The above survey of present thought and practice on the subject in the U.S.A. leads to the following conclusions :—

We must recognise that unchecked unionisation in the public service can threaten both the legislative and executive arms of the government.

With the ever-increasing numbers of government employees it is very desirable that the conditions of work in public employment are not determined autocratically by the government, but in consultation with the employees. This can most effectively be done by collective bargaining with independent employee organisations.

Yet the public service must operate for the benefit of the whole community and not for any section of it. The public service must not degenerate into comfortable sinecures for a privileged group of public servants, irresponsibly imposing their wishes on the community. The responsibility of seeing that this does not happen rests with the state.

Fundamentally the question posed is the old, old, question of how much liberty can be allowed to the units composing a free society. If the sovereignty of the government is unchecked all freedom is destroyed. If the right of the employees to influence the government in their own interest is unchecked, government, as we know it, is completely undermined. Balance,—the realization that in life there is

neither complete liberty nor absolute sovereignty—is the important thing.

Unionisation and collective bargaining wisely used will give further dignity to the government worker and make him a partner in the enterprise of running the government. Irresponsibly used, they will undermine both representative government and executive responsibility.



“All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with government employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress. Accordingly, administrative officials and employees alike are governed and guided, and in many cases restricted, by laws which establish policies, procedures or rules in personnel matters.”

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
(in a letter dated August 16, 1937, to
Mr. Luther C. Setward)

Why Metric ?

Pitambar Pant

[This is the first of a series of articles explaining the justification for the recent decision of the Government of India to adopt the metric system of weights, measures and coinage and dealing with the administrative problems which will arise in the course of the change-over—Ed.]

UNDER a recent Act of Parliament, the Government of India have assumed powers to adopt the decimal system of coinage. They have also, on the recommendations of the Planning Commission, recently announced their decision to standardise weights and measures in the country on the basis of the metric system. It is contemplated to effect the entire reform within the next 10 to 15 years. Unfortunately the matter has not received as much public attention as it merits, perhaps because the true extent of its far-reaching significance is not wholly appreciated. It is important, however, that the people should clearly understand *what* the reform means, what benefits will accrue from it and *why*, in a way, it is ultimately inevitable, and its early adoption, therefore, is a practical necessity. Such a comprehension alone can generate genuine enthusiasm in the people and evoke their willing and active co-operation which is essential for its smooth realisation.

It is common knowledge that the weights and measures in use differ from place to place in our country. Not only do they vary from one area to another, but even in the same area different weights and measures are used for different commodities. Some idea of this bewildering diversity can be had from information collected by the National Sample Survey, which conducts investigations throughout the country, twice or thrice a year on various topics of social and economic importance. The survey revealed that in 1,100 villages, scattered at random all over the country, as many as 143 different systems of measurements of weight were in use. The situation was reported to be even worse in respect of measurement of volume and land area. Even if certain terms are apparently in wider use, often, they in

fact do not represent the same weight. For example, there were observed 100 different *maunds* with weights in tolas ranging from 280 to 8,320, in contrast to the standard maund of 3,200 tolas. There were *sers* varying from 8 standard tolas to 160 tolas compared to the standard *ser* of 80 tolas.

Such chaotic diversity in the weights and measures, used constantly in the common transactions of daily life, is a source of much confusion and difficulty. Variations in weight from place to place prejudice the chance of the farmer getting a fair price for his produce in the markets within his own State as also in the other States. Prices of different commodities in different parts of the country are quoted on the basis of local weights. Since the names of the units used and the weights which each one of them indicates vary from place to place, the quotations are not understandable except by those in close touch with the markets concerned; and the farmer in his dealings is at the mercy of the skilful traders. He is further deceived very often by the buyer of his produce who replaces the lighter weights with the heavier weights in weighments. He is also overwhelmed by the complexities of calculations, which he cannot even follow correctly, to say nothing of working them out himself. The developments of marketing on sound lines, the introduction of grades and standards, and supplying price quotation to rural areas will be of little use if this chaos of varying weights and measures is allowed to exist. Space does not permit the recounting of the many disadvantages of the present situation but it is obvious that the inconvenience and harm resulting from lack of standardisation affects not only the farmers but all the people, except the unscrupulous few who exploit the situation to their own advantage. The only remedy is to set aside this multiplicity of local and regional systems of weights and measures and to substitute in their place a uniform system which should be easy to learn and use, and common throughout the country.

The need for this reform in India was recognized even a century ago and in fact the Government of India passed an Act in 1871 for standardising the weights in accordance with the metric system. Unfortunately no interest was taken to implement the reform and the confusion has more or less continued. The main significance of the recent decision of the Government is that it indicates a determination not to let

matters drift and to take vigorous steps to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures based on the metric system.

II

The blessings of metric standardisation to our country will be manifold. It will put an end to the confounding diversity of current weights and measures with all their attendant disadvantages, facilitate the widening of trade and commerce and strengthen national solidarity. This standardisation will be of value to the country in its foreign trade and commerce not only at the national level but simultaneously also at the international level. There are few examples of international collaboration as striking as the near-universal adoption of the metric system of weights and measures which is now the sole legal system practically all over the world except in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries. Even in the U.S.A. and U.K. where the English system (also known as the foot-pound system) is the more common, the metric system has a legal status and is in fact increasingly coming into use.

A still more important blessing of metric standardisation is the tremendous simplification in calculations, of diverse kinds, brought about. It is the only system scientifically conceived as a simple, uniform and integrated system of weights and measures suitable for international adoption. It has not grown haphazard like, for example, our so-called standard *maund-ser-yard* system or the English system of foot-pound-gallon. The key to the simplicity and superiority of the metric system is to be found in its strictly symmetrical structure, systematised on the base ratio of 10 throughout, corresponding to the decimal place value notation in the representation of numbers. To understand why it is so, we have to delve a little into the history of arithmetic.

The ingenious method of expressing all numbers by ten symbols, each receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value on which our arithmetic is based, was given to the world by India about 1500 years ago, perhaps even earlier.

Previous to this remarkable discovery, counting and calculation was a most clumsy affair. In fact even as long as 500 years ago, calculations continued to be carried out in Europe through the Roman system of numbers. Numbers could be added and subtracted only by taking recourse to a

counting frame, the *Abacus*. What now appears to us a simple exercise in multiplication and division, within the competence of any school child, was considered in those days a problem calling forth advanced knowledge of mathematics. An effort to multiply XIV (*i.e.* 14) by LX (*i.e.* 40) in the Roman way will convince any one that the difficulties then experienced were inherent in the crude and inflexible numeration then in use. The discovery of the modern positional numeration did away with these obstacles. Because of its simplicity and the great ease which it has lent to all computation, this profound and important idea made possible the subsequent rapid advance in mathematics. It is recognised as one of the greatest advances in the march of human civilization.

As we all know, the system of numeration, now widely adopted, is a 'tens' system, the value of any digit in a whole number varying with its place in the number, starting with units at the right and increasing to the left in the order: unit, ten, hundred, thousand and so on. Each place-value is 10 times the place-value to its right. Thus 777 means 700 plus 70 plus 7. Simon Stevin's invention of the decimal point in 1585 extended the tens system to the right as to the left. It made it possible to decrease by tens as well as to increase by tens. Moreover, it made it possible to handle a whole number and a part as easily as a whole number was handled before; and most important of all it made fractions—so inconvenient to deal with—completely unnecessary.

The metric system amounts only to the application of the decimal number system to measurement. The word "Metric" is derived from "Metre" which is the basic unit of length and enters directly or indirectly into the units for area, volume and mass. All other larger or smaller units bear a strictly decimal relation to each other. The Metre is defined as the distance between two engraved lines on a bar of platinum-iridium alloy which is preserved as the standard Metre stick in the archives of the International Metric Commission at Sevres, near Paris. With this fundamental unit, metre, as the base, by simply multiplying by ten successively or by a similar simple process of decimal subdivision, has been built up a system of measures of length which has proved adequate for the needs of science, commerce and industry. For the multiples of its principal units, the metric system employs Greek prefixes *deca* (ten times), *hecto* (hundred

times) and *kilo* (thousand times); for the sub-multiples the Latin prefixes *deci* (one-tenth) *centi* (one hundredth) and *milli* (one thousandth). With these six prefixes, used along with the three primary units 'metre', 'liter' and 'gram' and a more arbitrary unit 'ar' for area, it is possible to construct all the metric units in ordinary use.

An important feature of the system is the simple relationship between its primary units. The mass of a volume of pure water equal to a cube of the one-hundredth part of a metre is a *gram*. As the *gram* is rather small for most weighings, the *kilogram* is employed as a practical unit. The *litre* is simply the volume occupied by the mass of one kilogram of pure water.

III

The much greater convenience in calculation resulting from the adoption of the metric system, may be illustrated by some simple examples. Let us take a problem calling for the conversion of smaller units to larger ones in the English and the Metric systems :

$$157 \text{ inches} = 13\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet} = 4\frac{1}{8} \text{ yds.}$$

$$157 \text{ centimeters} = 15.7 \text{ decimeters} = 1.57 \text{ metres.}$$

In the English system to change inches to feet it is necessary to divide by 12 and since we cannot readily do this mentally, we have to work it out as a division problem and very often we run into fractions. To change feet to yards, we must divide by 3, a small number but here again we generally get into difficulties because we have to divide a mixed number, that is a whole number and fraction. In the metric system the conversion is simply a matter of shifting the decimal point one place to the left to get the next larger unit.

Take again the problem of calculating the capacity of some tank, the volume of water contained in it and its weight, as measured by the two systems. In English units the problem is : "Given a tank 8 feet 9½ inches long, 6 feet 5½ inches broad and 4 feet 3½ inches deep, filled with water, find (a) capacity of the tank in cubic feet, (b) the volume of water in gallons and (c) the weight of water in pounds." The same problem in terms of metric units will be stated as follows : "Given a tank 2.68 metres long, 1.97 metres broad and 1.31 metres deep, find (a) capacity of the tank in cubic metres,

(b) the volume of water in litres; and (c) the weight of water in kilograms."

In the English system we have first to reduce the measurement to inches to simplify calculation and then multiply these measurements of length, breadth and depth to get the volume in cubic inches. The result, $421076\frac{7}{8}$ cubic inches, has to be divided by the number of cubic inches in one cubic foot (1728) to get the volume in cubic feet. After a process of long division we thus arrive at 243.679 cubic feet. To obtain the volume in gallons, the volume in cubic inches has to be divided by number of cubic inches in 1 gallon (*i.e.* 231, a difficult figure to remember), and we get the result as 1822.843 gallons. To calculate the weight in pounds, the number of cubic feet has to be multiplied by $62\frac{1}{2}$ (the number of pounds in 1 cubic foot of water), which gives us the figure 15229.938 pounds. If any of these results is to be further reduced to smaller or larger units one has to resort to cumbrous multiplications and divisions by numbers such as 27, 1728, 4, 8, 16, 112, 2240.

In the metric system the volume in cubic metres is arrived at simply by multiplying, as decimal numbers, the three measurements of length, breadth and depth, giving directly the volume in cubic metres as 6.916 276. Since there are 1,000 litres in 1 cubic metre, by simply moving the decimal point by three places to the right, we get the volume in litres, which comes to 6916.276 litres, and finally since 1 litre of water, by definition, weighs 1 kilogram, by merely changing the name, we get the weight of water as 6916.276 kilograms. Conversion to smaller or larger units is, as we have already seen, a simple matter of shifting the decimal point.

Let us take a problem of working out costs, starting with corresponding units and determining the cost for smaller units. In metric units and decimal currency—

If 1 metric ton (of, say, silver)	costs Rs. 80,000.00
then 1 kilogram	costs Rs. 80.00
and 1 gram	costs Rs. .08
	(<i>i.e.</i> 8 <i>naya paisas</i>)

Whereas in English units and our present anna-pie coinage,

If 1 long ton	costs Rs. 80,000
then 1 pound	costs Rs. 35 as. 11 pies 5
and 1 ounce	costs Rs. 2 as. 3 pies 8

In metric units and decimal currency, the effort involved is limited to shifting the decimal point three places to the right for deducing cost per kilogram from cost per ton or for arriving at cost per gram, given cost per kilogram. In English units, to deduce the cost per pound one has to divide the cost per ton, by 2240—the number of pounds in one ton; further, as the rupee does not have decimal sub-divisions, to convert the fractional part of the rupee into annas and pies multiplication by 16 and 12 and division by 2240 becomes necessary at successive stages. For finding cost per ounce, the complex amount in Rs. as. pies, which is obtained as the cost per pound, has to be divided by 16, involving again much labour.

These are simple types of problems. There are many others which must be taught if the child is to be able to calculate in various kinds of measures. All these involve addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and reduction to larger and smaller units in each of the different and unrelated tables of measures (length, area and volume, capacity and weight). And we have the further misfortune of having to learn not only one system but several, local, Indian, English and Metric. The result is that our children learn less and take longer to do it than, say, the French, the Russian, the German or the Chinese children who use the metric system. Indeed, few even among educated adults in our country can readily cite the various tables of measures used in our daily life, and even fewer can handle with ease the bothersome calculations involved in their use.

IV

It is almost impossible to design a system more easily learned than the metric system. The simplification and increased efficiency in calculations would be carried over into every phase of life. To sum up, the superiority of the metric system rests on the following :—

- (a) The scientific character of the fundamental units of the metre, litre and gram and the simplicity of the inter-relations between them;
- (b) The simple decimal manner in which the multiplication and division of units of the same measure proceed and which makes the metric system easier to work with and facilitates simplicity in computation;

- (c) The smaller number of units in common use and the greater ease with which the names are learned and retained;
- (d) The greater convenience, the greater adaptability and greater comprehensiveness that a unified system of weights and measures provides; and
- (e) The international status which it enjoys, being used as the sole system in all except a few countries and parallely used and legalised in the others.

V

It is obvious that the above advantages of the metric system are not conditioned by geography or race or language. They can be realised equally in China, U.S.A., France, U.S.S.R., Germany, Afghanistan, Indonesia, or England. If the last two have been clinging to the archaic, unscientific and cumbrous system of units—the English system—it is because that system is too deeply entrenched there. However, the advantages of metric system are so overwhelming that strong support exists for it even in countries which have not adopted it.

In 1821, speaking of the metric system, still in its infancy, the then U.S. Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams (later President of the U.S.A.) observed in his Report on Weights and Measures :

“This system approached to the ideal perfection of uniformity applied to weights and measures and whether destined to succeed or doomed to fail, will shed unfading glory upon the age in which it was conceived and upon the nation by which its execution was attempted, and has in part been achieved.....The single standard proportional to the circumference of the earth, the singleness of the units for all the various modes of mensuration; the universal application to them of decimal arithmetic; the unbroken chain of conversion between all weights, measures, monies and ccins; and the precise, significant, short and complete vocabulary of their denominations; altogether forming a system adapted equally to the use of all mankind, afford such a combination of the principle of uniformity for all the most important operations of the intercourse of human society; the establish-

ment of such a system so obviously tends to that great result, the improvement of the physical, moral and intellectual condition of man upon earth, that there can be neither doubt nor hesitancy in the opinion that the ultimate adoption and universal, though modified, application of that system is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

"Considered merely as a labour saving machine, it is a new power afforded to man incomparably greater than that which he has acquired by the new agency which he has given to steam. It is in design the greatest invention of human ingenuity since that of printing."

From United Kingdom, we have the following testimony of Lord Kelvin, the noted scientist :

"I believe I am not overstating the truth when I say that half the time occupied by clerks and draftsmen in engineers' and surveyors' offices—I am sure at least one half of it—is work entailed upon them by the inconvenience of the present farrago of weights and measures. The introduction of the world metric system will produce an enormous saving in business offices of all kinds—engineering, commercial and retail shop."

Even though in these countries the metric system has not been adopted as the sole system of measurement, progressively in many sectors it has come to its own. Electricity, radio and electronics, pharmaceuticals and in several other fields the metric system has been making rapid inroads. The existence of two systems where metric alone would have served the purpose better, creates unnecessary confusion and waste of labour. In 1875 at the Russian Technical Society, Prof. Khvolson, prophesied the ultimate universal adoption of the metric system in the following words :

"The metric system is an elemental force impossible to subdue and to fight against it is sheer recklessness. Open the gates to it and it would come in as a friend, as a benefactor but if you close the door upon it, it would take you by storm as an enemy and would conquer territory inch by inch falling upon you through million chinks. It would be besieging on all sides and would step by step force you to yield positions to it. Against its invincible power you would have to lay down arms and would finally find yourself in a desperate position."

VI

The object of this article was to explain the reasons for the adoption of the metric system. It is realised, of course,

that so radical a change, however obviously desirable, will create administrative problems affecting all branches of public administration and organised business. To minimise the difficulties and inconvenience during the transition period a properly co-ordinated and phased plan has therefore to be drawn up and adhered to. For this purpose a Standing Metric Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Shri Nityanand Kanungo, Minister for Industries. How the Committee has set about this task, what problems require solution and how it is proposed to tackle them, will be discussed in the subsequent articles of this series.

“From the very beginning of scientific management, advance planning has been deemed the clue to successful results and research has been deemed indispensable to planning and execution. Great administrators and students of the subjects know how vital this is to effective administration.....As administration becomes more and more scientific, that is, as it advances in exactness of projection, forecast, and results, it will raise planning and research to a top position in thought and practice. Natural science and technology have done this with amazing effectiveness. Without the inquiry into relevant facts and without the blueprint, they would be on the level of astrology.”

—CHARLES A. BEARD

(in ‘an address before the Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association, Princeton, in 1939’)

The Training of the Administrative Services in States

B. S. Khanna

IN an illuminating article published in an earlier issue of this *Journal* the institutional training of the I.A.S. probationers was described in detail by Shri S.B. Bapat. It would obviously be of interest to the students of public administration to know something also about the training of State Administrative Service officers who have to work along with the I.A.S. officers to run the general administration of the country. The present article describes briefly this training as imparted in the States of Punjab, West Bengal, Madras, U.P. and Bihar. A few suggestions have also been made about the reorganization of the training programmes in the States so that the administrators may be equipped more effectively for shouldering the heavier and more complex responsibilities which have devolved on them with the extension of the welfare functions of the state in India.

In the Punjab, the recruits to the Executive Branch of the State Civil Service known as probationary Extra Assistant Commissioners or E.A.Cs. are given detailed training in revenue and settlement work. They are required to acquaint themselves with the general outline of revenue assessment and collection as well as the maintenance of revenue records and the working of village administration. The Deputy Commissioner* entrusts this revenue training of the probationer to the Revenue Assistant. For judicial and executive training the probationer is put under the guidance of the Additional District Magistrate. He is also to familiarise himself with the working of the various branches of the Deputy Commissioner's office. Thereafter, he has to spend a few weeks in studying the actual working of Government Treasury—the receipts and disbursements of money

* The Principal Executive Officer in charge of a territorial district in India is variously referred to in different States, as Collector, Deputy Commissioner, District Magistrate or District Officer, according to the history and tradition of each State,

and maintenance of accounts. A proposal to constitute a separate service of Treasury Officers is at present under consideration. When this materialises there will probably be no need for any *detailed* training in treasury work for the Extra Assistant Commissioner, though a general knowledge of these matters is always useful. To enable the probationer to get an insight into the nature of crimes and to appreciate the roles of police and jail administration, he is given a short training in the duties performed by the police and the jail officers. This training is expected to enable the probationer to take a realistic view of things connected with law and order—fields in which he has to play an important role after he becomes a regular executive officer. Recently, the Punjab Government have also prescribed a brief spell of training in social welfare for the probationer. He is to spend at least a fortnight in some Community Project area. The total period of probation is three years and a probationer has to pass all departmental examinations by higher standard within two years of his selection. The quality of training which he gets is partly determined by the calibre of the Deputy Commissioner under whom he has to serve his probation.

In West Bengal the probationer, referred to as Deputy Collector under training, is given the usual training in revenue and magisterial work. He is also required to acquire a general knowledge of the agricultural conditions and co-operation work and to pass departmental examinations in Bengali, Hindi, Accounts, Criminal law, land laws of Bengal, and general laws. The probationer has also to maintain a diary to record briefly his day-to-day administrative experiences and activities. This diary is inspected by the Collector or any other officer nominated by him to watch the progress made. The Collector is expected by the Government to take a real and active interest in the training of the probationer and to inculcate the true ideals of public service in his mind.

In Madras, the probationer gets his revenue training with revenue officers such as *Karnam* (village accountant), the Revenue Inspector, the *Tehsildar* (circle officer) and the Revenue Divisional Officer. He is also trained in settlement work by *Tehsildars* and Settlement Officers. He further undergoes training in magisterial work for a number of months. The next item in training covers the working of the Government Treasury and Police Department, and is followed by a brief period of probation in

certain other departments in the district, with which he is expected to come in intimate contact as a general administrator. For example, he has to spend some time with the Irrigation and P.W.D. Engineers to learn something about the working of Engineering administration, and has also been an understudy in the Agricultural, Co-operative, Labour and Forest Departments. Now that the Madras Government have adopted Prohibition as a definite policy, the probationer is required to spend a little time with the District Prohibition Officer to understand the working of this policy. As he will also have to supervise or guide the local bodies in the district in the course of time, an opportunity is given to him to get training with the Commissioner of a Municipality and the Secretary of a District Board. This wide and varied training lasts in all for about eighteen months after which he gets an independent charge.

U.P. and Bihar are the only two States at present where *institutional* training supplements individual, field training for the State administrative officers. In U.P. there is an Officers' Training School at Allahabad. It was started in 1951 but ceased to function after sometime and has been revived recently. The declared objectives of the training imparted to the State Civil Service (Executive) probationer are two. In the first place, a trainee is to be taught to look upon himself as a public servant rather than a ruler as in the past. This psychological orientation is necessary if a Civil Servant is not to be a misfit in the parliamentary democracy which we have adopted in India. In the second place, a trainee is to be given properly-planned grounding in laws, revenue work and socio-economic development.

The total period of training in the School is six months. The first phase is of four months and is devoted mostly to class-room study and seminars. The second phase is of two months, and is devoted to field training and study-tours. A combined course for I.A.S. and P.C.S. has been prescribed. Departmental examinations have been abolished and the probationer is to take mid-course and end-of-course examinations in the School itself. Training imparted has essentially a rural and practical bias. Special emphasis is placed on planning and development work. During his stay in the institution the probationer has also to learn military drill, riding, swimming, motor mechanics and agriculture. The School has a six-acre agriculture farm attached to it.

Distinguished administrators and public men are invited to give lectures to the trainees. Social functions are also arranged from time to time to enable the probationers to rub shoulders with outsiders. It cannot be denied that the stay in the School promotes the growth of *esprit de corps* among the young probationers. After the School training is over, they move to various districts for practical training in revenue, magisterial and social development work.

In Bihar, too, there is a training institution for the State Civil Service (Executive) recruits. It is located at Ranchi. A direct recruit to the Bihar Civil Service has to spend nearly four months there to receive instruction in laws, development work and general administration. There are lectures from distinguished outsiders, besides the usual class work and seminars. The probationer also gets training in rifle-shooting, motor mechanics and swimming. After this brief period at the School, he goes to the district to learn revenue and magisterial work. He has also to spend nearly four months in the Community Project and National Extension Service areas to acquaint himself with the socio-economic development of country-side.

As one looks at the training schemes of the above-mentioned States as well as of other States in India, one feels that there is a considerable scope for reform. Before discussing the useful changes which could be brought about, it would be desirable to recapitulate the major aims of the training of civil servants. Several years ago a committee* appointed to study the problem of training of British Civil Servants clearly formulated five main aims of such a training in a democratic country. As these hold good for purposes of training civil servants in any democratic State, they are reproduced here verbatim :

“First, training should endeavour to produce a civil servant whose precision and clarity in the transaction of business can be taken for granted.

“In the second place, the civil servant must be attuned to the tasks which he will be called upon to perform in a changing world. The Civil Service must continuously and boldly adjust its outlook and its methods to the new needs of new times.

* CMD Paper 6525 : Report of the Committee on Training of Civil Servants (Assheton Report), pp. 10-11.

"Thirdly, there is a need to develop resistance to the danger of the civil servant becoming mechanised by the machine; while we must aim at the highest possible standard of efficiency, our purpose is not to produce a robot-like, mechanically-perfect civil service. The recruit from the first should be made aware of the relation of his work to the service rendered by his Department to the community. The capacity to see what he is doing in a wider setting will make the work not only more valuable to his Department but also more stimulating to himself. In addition, therefore, to purely vocational training directed to the proper performance of his day-to-day work, he should receive instruction on a broader basis as well as encouragement to persevere with his own educational development.

"Fourthly, even as regards vocational training, it is not sufficient to train solely for the job which lies immediately at hand. Training must be directed not only to enabling an individual to perform his current work more efficiently, but also to fitting him for other duties, and, where appropriate, developing his capacity for higher work and greater responsibilities.

"Fifthly, even these ends are not in themselves enough. Large numbers of people have inevitably to spend most of their working lives upon tasks of a routine character, and with this human problem ever in the background, training plans, to be successful, must pay substantial regard to staff morale."

If these aims are to be realised effectively in India, we shall have to take several measures to reorganise training facilities in the various States of India. In the first place, every State should follow the example of the Government of India by appointing a Director of Training. He should be made responsible for drawing up and implementing the schemes of training not only for the State Administrative Service officers but also for other services in the State. Then there should be a Staff College in which the probationers of all the higher services in a State should get training together. There is a widespread complaint of too much of consciousness among civil servants, of belonging to a particular service*

* Mr. Paul H. Appleby comments on this tendency among Indian civil servants in his report on Public Administration in India.

or grade. If a general *esprit de corps* is to be developed among them, it will be highly desirable to put them together for sometime in an institution at the beginning of their careers. They can receive instruction in certain subjects together, while they can have separate classes for their special subjects. If the general administrators and other more specialised civil servants are not to fail in their new and varied responsibilities in our democratic welfare State, they need to be given grounding in theoretical and applied knowledge of Sociology, Economics, Government and Administration for about six months. This knowledge will broaden their outlook* and make them discharge their duties intelligently and more effectively.

After the first six months of general grounding in social sciences, the probationers for posts of different grades should spend some time in acquiring specialised knowledge of their jobs if there is a need for it. The State Administrative Officers, with whom we are particularly concerned here, should spend six months in learning the relevant laws, the revenue administration and social development administration. At the end of the year, there should be an examination both written and oral to test the knowledge of probationers. Marks should also be allotted to seminar work which should receive greater attention than lectures in the Staff College. Physical training, military training, motor mechanics and riding should form an important part of extra-mural activities.

After the examination, the probationers of the State Administrative Service should be sent to select districts, where there are experienced Collectors and other officers, to undergo ten months' training in magisterial, revenue, social development and miscellaneous executive work. They must keep diaries of their day-to-day work and these should be inspected by the Collectors. The Director of Training should receive quarterly reports from the Collectors about the progress of the probationers. He should make suggestions, if need be, about a particular probationer. After the expiry of ten months' training, the probationers should spend three weeks in the Home and Finance Departments

* Prof. W. A. Robson, an eminent thinker in the field of Public Administration, also stresses this training in social sciences in his article in *Political Quarterly*, Vol. XXV. No.

at the State Secretariat. This will help them to acquire knowledge not merely of office procedures but also of the relationship between the Secretariat, the Minister and the Legislature as well as of the Secretariat and the District Administration. Again, a brief experience in the Development and Planning Department, say, for three weeks, will enable them to appreciate the importance of socio-economic development which is the crying need of the people, besides the traditional needs for law and order. At the completion of this practical training the probationers should go back to the Staff College for a fortnight where discussion groups and seminars should be organised to enable them to sift and clarify their experiences and ideas. Now they should be ready for taking up their duties as regular civil servants in the State.

The Staff College should also organise short refresher courses at regular intervals. The general administrator and other civil servants can have a brief spell at the College to refresh their knowledge by doing a bit of reading and having the benefit of group discussions. The College should maintain a close contact with the regional branch—which needs to be opened in each State—of the newly set up Indian Institute of Public Administration. The two organisations could collaborate to bring civil servants, academicians and public men together for exchange of ideas on administrative matters.

In conclusion, it appears necessary to stress, once again, the importance of a fuller reorientation of the training methods and procedures in regard to general administrations in the various parts of India. Without this the administrators will not be properly equipped to bear the increasing burden which is falling on their shoulders now that the Government are to play a crucial part in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country, besides maintaining law and order as in the past. Moreover, a greater effectiveness of the State Administrative Service Officers, as a result of thorough training, will strengthen their case for raising the quota of their promotion to the I.A.S. from the present 25 per cent. to something higher.

EDITORIAL NOTES

This issue marks the completion of the first volume of the *Journal*. If the numerous letters of warm appreciation and encouragement which we have received from readers in India and abroad are an indication, we have good reason to indulge in sober satisfaction, and we feel inspired to do even better in the future.

The end of the year is also the proper time for settling one's debts, especially of gratitude. We are happy to acknowledge the very deep debt we owe to the staff of the Publications Unit of the *Institute* generally, and in particular to Shri B.S. Narula, Secretary to Director, who has worked unceasingly and given invaluable assistance on the editorial side and to Shri R.G. Mulgund, Administrative Officer, who has performed miracles of executive achievement on the production side.

The news section contains a variety of interesting items and we have also added a 'Digest of Reports'—a new feature which we hope will be of interest and assistance to all readers.

—Editor

News from India and Abroad

1. UNITED KINGDOM

Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55

In their report to British Parliament presented in November 1955, the Royal Commission on the Civil Service presided over by Sir Raymond Priestley, have recommended increases in rates of pay, abolition of regular overtime and extra duty allowance, and shorter holidays. These increases will cost the Exchequer about £11m. a year while savings worth £20m. are likely to accrue from the abolition of overtime and extra duty allowances. The Commission have also suggested the establishment of a top level committee for "exercising a general over-sight" of the remuneration of the higher Civil Service. As a first step towards the eventual adoption of the 5-day week, the Commission have proposed the introduction of 10½-day fortnight. (For further details please see section on 'Digest of Reports', pp. 371-377).

Working of Administrative Tribunals

A committee has been set up by the Lord Chancellor with Sir Oliver Franks, former British Ambassador in Washington, as its Chairman to look into the working of administrative tribunals. The terms of reference are :

(1) The constitution and working of tribunals other than the ordinary courts of law constituted under any Act of Parliament by a Minister of the Crown or for the purposes of a Minister's functions.

(2) The working of such administrative procedures as include the holding of an enquiry or hearing by or on behalf of a Minister on an appeal or as the result of objections or representations and in particular the procedure for the compulsory purchase of land.

2. UNITED STATES

A Single Entrance Examination for Federal Services

In order to encourage "college-calibre" people to enter the Federal Service, the U.S. Civil Service Commission have announced a major change in their recruitment policy. A single Federal Service Entrance Examination will replace numerous college-level examinations. To qualify for taking the examination, the candidates must be college graduates or have the appropriate equivalent experience. The examination will be used by the Federal departments and agencies to fill a wide variety of positions at the entrance or trainee level, including positions formerly filled through the Junior Management Assistant and Junior Agricultural Assistant examinations. Most appointments will be made to positions in Grade GS-5 (with entrance

salary of \$3,670 a year), and some to positions in GS-6 and GS-7 (\$4,080 and \$4,525). Candidates can also compete for internships in the same examination by answering additional written papers and appearing for an interview. In the words of the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Philip Young, this is "far more than an examination shift. This is a brand-new programme designed to encourage people of college-caliber to set their sights not just on a job, but on a career with the Federal Government."

Career Status for "Indefinite" Employees

The U.S. Civil Service Commission have issued instructions to Government departments and agencies in regard to the grant of career status to employees who fulfil certain conditions. The employees should either have satisfactory service of three years, or have passed a competitive Civil Service test or pass an appropriate non-competitive examination within the next year. The three years' service required for eligibility does not necessarily have to be consecutive. On receipt of recommendations from the Government department or agency, *Career* status will be accorded to those who have more than 3 years' service and *Career-Conditional* status to those who have less than 3 years' service. About 40,000 'indefinite' employees are likely to benefit from the proposals.

Congress Investigates Civil Service Commission

The U.S. Congress has authorised two investigations into the working of the United States Civil Service Commission. The first enquiry will be conducted by Mr. Henry Cassell, a staff member of the "Post Office and Civil Service Committee" of the House of Representatives. It will cover such matters as the distribution of jobs in grades GS-16 and above, the President's career-conditional order of last January, the extent to which the government has contracted out its operations to private concerns, and several aspects of the operations of the Post Office Department.

The second investigation which will have a somewhat broader scope will be undertaken, on behalf of the "Post Office & Civil Service Committee" of the Senate, by Mr. James R. Watson on leave from the Civil Service League. It will include (1) the roles of the White House and Civil Service Commission in personnel management and the effect on the merit system, particularly the dual role of Mr. Philip Young as Chairman of the Commission and the President's Personnel Adviser; (2) the "Willis directive" setting up a political clearance system for many Federal jobs, and its impact on the career system; (3) the need for changes in top civil service command; (4) policies of various agencies in administering civil service regulations; and (5) possible outside influence on the CSC Board of Appeals and Review.

Dismissal Procedures in Federal Government

The Federal Court of Appeals in Washington has ruled that the U.S. Government Departments and agencies may dismiss employees under the procedure prescribed by the Lloyd-La-Follette Act of 1912 instead of that provided by the Performance Rating Act, 1950. The latter law requires

of a Department to warn an employee if his performance is unsatisfactory and give him a 90-day period in which to improve. If at the end of this time the employee is given an unsatisfactory rating he has recourse to a series of appeals which can consume considerable time. The Court contended that the intent of the 1950 Act was to help an employee who had merit and who could perhaps be placed in another job as an alternative to dismissal. Matters relating to breach of discipline, insubordination and neglect of duties should more appropriately be dealt with under the Lloyd-La-Follette Act which provides that a Government Department or agency may prepare a letter of charges, and give the employee an opportunity to reply. After taking these two steps, the Department or agency may legally dismiss the employee.

Employee Incentives

The new Federal Government 'incentive award programme' has, during a period of 7 months ended June 30, 1955, resulted in savings worth a total of \$ 40m. Of 138,000 suggestions received during this period, 35,000 suggestions were adopted; and 3,850 employees were given superior or performance awards. For their 'economy ideas', the Federal Government employees received about \$ 1.5m. in cash awards, *i.e.*, a bit more than 3½% of the sum of their proposals saved the Government.

In New York, the city employees who have written articles, book reviews or books are now mentioned in a special pamphlet put out by the municipal reference library and sent to officials and other employees of the city. The idea is to extend recognition, beyond the limits of their particular departments, to those local employees "who, during the past year, have been quietly adding to the store of professional knowledge about New York by their written contributions". The title and publisher of the writings are also listed.

Tax Collection by Payment Box

Citizens in Phoenix, Arizona, can pay most of their city bills at a payment box which has been placed just outside the city hall. The box has openings on two sides to facilitate use by motorists and pedestrians. Envelopes are provided in the box and it is necessary only for the payee to indicate on the envelope the type of payment being made and enclose the proper amount of money together with the parking ticket, water bill, privilege licence tax or other bill. To ensure adequate internal control the box is opened and emptied once each day by two city employees, and envelopes are opened and payments checked by these two persons.

Institute of Public Administration, New York

Prof. Charles S. Ascher, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Brooklyn College, who represented three international nongovernmental organizations engaged in the study of public administration, urban government and planning at the United Nations for six years, has been appointed an associate director of the Institute of Public Administration, New York. Prof. Ascher has been an associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House for the past four years.

3. INDIA

Revision of the Central Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules

The Government of India are revising the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules originally framed by the Secretary of State under the Government of India Act, 1919. The original Rules, as amended from time to time, still contain a number of references to obsolete authorities and some of them are also inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution. There also exist at present a number of separate orders relating to appointing and punishing authorities, scattered in various files and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain who can impose which punishment on whom. The new Rules will bring together into one volume the information indicating the appointing authority, authority which is empowered to impose penalties and the penalties which it may impose, for each class or grade of the Central Services. Specific provision is being made for classifying posts as well as Services. The rules relating to appointments and discipline of Subordinate Services (*i.e.* Classes III and IV) which were contained in a separate notification will be amalgamated with the main rules. Express power is being given to appropriate authorities to order the suspension of a Government servant pending an enquiry into his conduct. Compulsory retirement is being introduced as a new penalty; and the circumstances in which reversions, discharges, etc. will not amount to penalties will be clearly laid down. The procedure for imposing penalties will be clarified taking into account the provisions of the Constitution as well as the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations. A period of limitation will be specifically prescribed for the submission of appeals against disciplinary or administrative orders.

Engineering Personnel Committee

The Government of India have recently set up an Engineering Personnel Committee with Shri Y.N. Sukthankar, I.C.S., Secretary, Planning Commission, as its Chairman and Shri B.N. Datar, Director, Labour and Employment, Planning Commission, as its Secretary. The terms of reference of the Committee briefly are : (a) to assess the supply and demand position relating to the supervisory and higher grades of engineering personnel for the next 15 years in general and for the period of the Second Five Year Plan in particular, in regard to the public and private sectors; and (b) to recommend measures, especially in regard to the expansion and development of facilities for technical education and for practical training in industrial establishments, for purposes of ensuring adequate supply of men of requisite skills and standards.

In its interim report, the Committee has made a series of recommendations concerning the optimum utilisation of existing personnel, the organisation of short-term training courses on a functional basis, and the extension of institutional facilities for technical training. The existing facilities for graduate training should be increased by 20 per cent. and that for diploma training by 25 per cent. Even after this increase there would still be a shortage of engineering personnel in almost all the categories during the next few years. The Committee has also recommended the establishment of a high-power body at the Centre for taking policy

of a Department to warn an employee if his performance is unsatisfactory and give him a 90-day period in which to improve. If at the end of this time the employee is given an unsatisfactory rating he has recourse to a series of appeals which can consume considerable time. The Court contended that the intent of the 1950 Act was to help an employee who had merit and who could perhaps be placed in another job as an alternative to dismissal. Matters relating to breach of discipline, insubordination and neglect of duties should more appropriately be dealt with under the Lloyd-La-Follette Act which provides that a Government Department or agency may prepare a letter of charges, and give the employee an opportunity to reply. After taking these two steps, the Department or agency may legally dismiss the employee.

Employee Incentives

The new Federal Government 'incentive award programme' has, during a period of 7 months ended June 30, 1955, resulted in savings worth a total of \$ 40m. Of 138,000 suggestions received during this period, 35,000 suggestions were adopted; and 3,850 employees were given superior or performance awards. For their 'economy ideas', the Federal Government employees received about \$ 1.5m. in cash awards, *i.e.*, a bit more than 3½% of the sum of their proposals saved the Government.

In New York, the city employees who have written articles, book reviews or books are now mentioned in a special pamphlet put out by the municipal reference library and sent to officials and other employees of the city. The idea is to extend recognition, beyond the limits of their particular departments, to those local employees "who, during the past year, have been quietly adding to the store of professional knowledge about New York by their written contributions". The title and publisher of the writings are also listed.

Tax Collection by Payment Box

Citizens in Phoenix, Arizona, can pay most of their city bills at a payment box which has been placed just outside the city hall. The box has openings on two sides to facilitate use by motorists and pedestrians. Envelopes are provided in the box and it is necessary only for the payee to indicate on the envelope the type of payment being made and enclose the proper amount of money together with the parking ticket, water bill, privilege licence tax or other bill. To ensure adequate internal control the box is opened and emptied once each day by two city employees, and envelopes are opened and payments checked by these two persons.

Institute of Public Administration, New York

Prof. Charles S. Ascher, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Brooklyn College, who represented three international nongovernmental organizations engaged in the study of public administration, urban government and planning at the United Nations for six years, has been appointed an associate director of the Institute of Public Administration, New York. Prof. Ascher has been an associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House for the past four years.

3. INDIA

Revision of the Central Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules

The Government of India are revising the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules originally framed by the Secretary of State under the Government of India Act, 1919. The original Rules, as amended from time to time, still contain a number of references to obsolete authorities and some of them are also inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution. There also exist at present a number of separate orders relating to appointing and punishing authorities, scattered in various files and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain who can impose which punishment on whom. The new Rules will bring together into one volume the information indicating the appointing authority, authority which is empowered to impose penalties and the penalties which it may impose, for each class or grade of the Central Services. Specific provision is being made for classifying posts as well as Services. The rules relating to appointments and discipline of Subordinate Services (*i.e.* Classes III and IV) which were contained in a separate notification will be amalgamated with the main rules. Express power is being given to appropriate authorities to order the suspension of a Government servant pending an enquiry into his conduct. Compulsory retirement is being introduced as a new penalty; and the circumstances in which reversions, discharges, etc. will not amount to penalties will be clearly laid down. The procedure for imposing penalties will be clarified taking into account the provisions of the Constitution as well as the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations. A period of limitation will be specifically prescribed for the submission of appeals against disciplinary or administrative orders.

Engineering Personnel Committee

The Government of India have recently set up an Engineering Personnel Committee with Shri Y.N. Sukthankar, I.C.S., Secretary, Planning Commission, as its Chairman and Shri B.N. Datar, Director, Labour and Employment, Planning Commission, as its Secretary. The terms of reference of the Committee briefly are : (a) to assess the supply and demand position relating to the supervisory and higher grades of engineering personnel for the next 15 years in general and for the period of the Second Five Year Plan in particular, in regard to the public and private sectors; and (b) to recommend measures, especially in regard to the expansion and development of facilities for technical education and for practical training in industrial establishments, for purposes of ensuring adequate supply of men of requisite skills and standards.

In its interim report, the Committee has made a series of recommendations concerning the optimum utilisation of existing personnel, the organisation of short-term training courses on a functional basis, and the extension of institutional facilities for technical training. The existing facilities for graduate training should be increased by 20 per cent. and that for diploma training by 25 per cent. Even after this increase there would still be a shortage of engineering personnel in almost all the categories during the next few years. The Committee has also recommended the establishment of a high-power body at the Centre for taking policy

decisions, supplemented by supporting executive organisations both at the State level and at the Centre to carry out these decisions. Another important suggestion made by the Committee relates to the urgent need for "diversification in the administrative cadres by the inclusion of engineers, scientists and other persons with technical qualifications".

Progress of O & M

The establishment of the Central O & M Division has been followed by the development of O & M Machinery in a number of States. While the Government of Assam have created a Methods and Organisation Division under the Planning and Development Department, the Government of Uttar Pradesh have appointed a Commissioner for Reorganisation and Director, O & M (of the rank of ex officio Additional Secretary) to scrutinize, and initiate proposals for reorganisation and rationalisation of collectorates offices of heads of departments and the various branches of the secretariat.

In Punjab, the State Government have set up a committee consisting of all secretaries to advise and aid in the O & M work. In Bombay, the 'Inspection and O & M' Section which has been functioning since September 1954, has recently extended its activities to District Administration. All Collectors have been nominated as O & M officers; and a small directing committee of 5 has been formed to deal with O & M problems relating to Districts.

O & M Divisions already exist in West Benga, Kutch and Rajasthan.

At the Centre, a Deputy Director has been appointed in the O & M Division to visit the Ministries and their subordinate organisations and assist the internal O & M officers in their task.

The Central O & M Division also propose to bring out soon a "Guide to Efficiency" which would provide hints for the Secretariat staff to improve their 'know-how' and thereby assist them to step up the speed and quality of their work. The other important projects in the hands of the Division are : (1) the standardisation of furniture in Government offices in order to replace the existing out-moded designs by modern utility types; and (2) the publication of an Administration Directory of the Government of India giving information about subjects dealt with by officers of, and above, the rank of Deputy Secretary. This is expected to help in making inter-departmental references and consultations.

Staff Councils

The Government of Travancore-Cochin have ordered that Departmental Staff Councils consisting of representatives of the Government and staff be constituted for each Department except the Police and Prisons Departments. A Joint Council of the representatives of all Departments and staff will also be constituted. The Councils will be advisory bodies and will consider suggestions for improving standards of work and provide means of contacts between officers and staff and thus help to promote cordial relations and co-operation. Questions relating to conditions of service shall be discussed only with reference to general principles underlying them,

There shall be no discussions of individual cases. The Joint Council will consist of ten members, half of them representing the Government and the other half representing the staff. Representatives of the Government on Departmental Councils shall be appointed by Heads of Departments; and the representatives of the staff by an appropriate union, if there is one, which is recognised by the Government and which has at least 75 per cent. of the employees of the Department as its members. In case there is no such union, representatives for the staff shall be elected by the members from amongst themselves. The Chief Secretary to the Government shall be the Chairman of the Joint Council, and the Head of the Department concerned shall be the Chairman of the Departmental Council.

In Hyderabad, the State government have established a Staff Committee composed of 30 members half of whom represent the Government and half the employees. The Chief Secretary is the ex officio Chairman of the Committee and the Government members are nominated from amongst officers of the Secretariat and Heads of Departments at headquarters and in districts. Of the 15 staff representatives, 12 are nominated from the various categories of subordinate services, and three from amongst Class IV employees. Recognised Government servants' associations may make recommendations for the categories of staff they represent. Staff representatives sit on the Committee for one year but can be renominated.

The Madras Government have also ordered the establishment of Madras Civil Services Joint Council. This will be a Central Organisation covering (1) the Secretariat, (2) Revenue, (3) Forest, (4) Medical, and (5) Public Works Departments. It will consist of 14 members, one half to be appointed by the Government and the other half by recognised service associations.

Staff Councils already exist in a number of Central Ministries.

Administrative Vigilance Machinery in States

The Government of Madhya Pradesh have set up a Complaints Board, headed by the Deputy Minister for Public Works, to examine and deal promptly with all complaints of corruption and misconduct against Government servants. Though the Board cannot enquire into anonymous petitions, it can, however, act of its own on public information.

The Punjab Government have set up Complaint Offices in each district, and have further decided to set up an intelligence section, attached to the Anti-Corruption Department.

In Hyderabad, a net-work of Anti-Corruption Committees has been established throughout the State. With a five-member Central Anti-Corruption Committee at the apex, every district now has an anti-corruption committee whose function is not only to scrutinize cases and suggest methods of eradicating corruption, but also to carry on propaganda and build up public opinion against malpractices. An Anti-Corruption Department has also been recently organised, with the former X branch of the C.I.D. as its nucleus.

In West Bengal, the anti-corruption organisation of the Government is headed by a Special Officer, who is a senior member of the I.C.S., with the

ex officio rank of a Secretary to the Government. He is aided by two Deputy Superintendents of Police and a complement of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, A.S.Is., etc.

Recruitment of Municipal Government Personnel through Public Service Commissions

The Hyderabad Assembly has enacted a law bringing the Local Government services in that State under the purview of the State Public Service Commission. Hitherto, recruitment of Gazetted Officers in Local Government Service was outside the scope of the Public Service Commission.

In **Punjab**, it has been decided that all employees of local bodies in the State with a salary of Rs. 150/- p.m. or above, other than Executive Officers of Municipal Committees, should be recruited through the State Public Service Commission.

Working of Local Bodies

The Government of **Punjab** have set up a Local Government (Urban) Enquiry Committee consisting of officials and non-officials under the chairmanship of the Minister for Local Government and Public Works, to enquire into the operation of existing laws and rules, etc. pertaining to urban local bodies in the State and to recommend amendments thereto with a view to improving the working of municipal administration. The Committee has also been asked to consider the question of setting up a Local Government Directorate with Regional Officers at the Divisional and District levels and the possibility of integrating it with the Directorate of Panchayats.

Panchayat System in Jails

The panchayat system amongst prisoners in **West Bengal** jails, introduced about two years ago, has been extended to various Central and District jails. The object is to give prisoners scope for developing a sense of personal responsibility and self-confidence. The panchayats, containing elected representatives of prisoners, supervise the preparation and distribution of food, help in the schooling of prisoners, organise recreations, games and exercise, look after sanitary arrangements and also deal with grievances of prisoners.

Teaching of Public Administration

A Diploma Course in Public and Business Administration has been instituted at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, **Bombay**, from the beginning of the current academic year. It is a three-year course and is designed to provide training for those who propose to join non-technical service under Government or under private institutions like banks and commercial houses. The Government of **Bombay** have recognised the Diploma as equivalent to a university Degree for recruitment to Government posts for which a degree is prescribed as the minimum qualification except where the degree is required to be in a specific subject,

Rajasthan Administrative Enquiry Committee

The Rajasthan Government have set up an Administrative Enquiry Committee consisting of the Chief Secretary as Chairman and the Planning Secretary and the Finance Secretary as members, to estimate the anticipated increase in the workload of Departments during the Second Five Year Plan period and to examine what changes in the strength of the staff will be necessary.

Special Service for Administration of Frontier Areas

The Government of India are constituting a cadre of officers to be called the "Indian Frontier Administrative Service".

Twenty-three Political Officers and 20 non-Political Officers, who were selected for service in the N.E.F.A. in 1953, form the nucleus of this cadre. They have generally justified their selection and shown good results.

4. SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Ecafe Workshop on Budgetary Classification

A meeting of the Workshop on problems of Budget Reclassification in the Ecafe Region was held at Bangkok from August 30 to September 10, 1955, under the joint auspices of the Ecafe, the U.N.T.A.A. and the Fiscal and Financial Branch of the U.N. Bureau of Economic Affairs. This conference was the second of its type, the first one being held in September, 1953, in Mexico for discussing similar problems relating to the Central and Latin American countries.

Thirty-four experts nominated by 17 Member Governments participated in the discussions. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri Shiv Naubh Singh, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance and included Dr. N.A. Sarma, Deputy Director of Research, Reserve Bank of India. The main object of the Workshop was to provide a forum for informal discussions on problems of budgetary classification for policy purposes and for exchange of experience of the Ecafe countries in this field. The Workshop suggested a minimum economic classification of the accounts of the public sector which would enable the persons responsible for shaping economic policies to have a clear picture of the effect of those policies on the economy of the country as a whole. The Workshop also proposed a cross-classification of Government transactions by functional and economic categories. This cross-classification is intended to serve the purpose of interpreting the unfamiliar economic categories in terms of the familiar functional categories.


Ecafe Working Party on Economic Development and Planning

India was represented at the first meeting of the Ecafe Working Party on Economic Development and Planning held at Bangkok from 31st October to 11th November, 1955, by Prof. D.G. Karve, Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy, Dr. V.V. Bhatt, Research Officer, Reserve Bank of India, and Mr. M. Mukherjee, Deputy Director, C. S. O. The Working Party

discussed, among other things, the impact of the developmental programmes on the machinery of public administration. In most countries, there was a noticeable tendency to adapt the existing administrative institutions and to improvise new ones to meet the steadily growing demands of economic policy. The planning machinery took diverse forms, varying from a supplementary (independent) cabinet to an inter-ministerial or inter-departmental committee. Important operational problems related to the collection of data from Government departments, bearing on the formulation of a programme and its periodical evaluation with a view to continued adjustment; the development of an integrated relationship between the planning body and the operational departments of Government through a system of frequent consultations, co-opted membership and normal methods of consultation and participation—industrial panels, consultative committees, joint boards; the education of both officials as well as businessmen, in the nature and advantages of the plan; the acceptance of the planning policy as representing the best judgment of the community; eliciting public co-operation and participation; drawing on the services of technicians, economists and administrators; training of the high-level officials in the work of planning; and the development of evaluating agencies.

5. UNITED NATIONS

Under the new arrangements for technical assistance on the principle of "country programming", a substantial increase in the aid to under-developed countries in the field of public administration is expected. The proposals for assistance received by the Technical Assistance Board cover a wide range of subjects, like organization and methods, planning, government purchase, postal communications, public finance, budgeting and accounts and municipal administration. Regional projects are likely to include aid to Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America, the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East and the School of Public Administration at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and the organization of a conference of health administrators in South-East Asia. The assistance provided by the U.N. in public administration has in the past increased year by year. Projects in public administration now cover more than 30 states and territories—a wider sweep than in any of the previous five years of the Expanded Programme. Measured in man-months of expert services provided, the expert aid increased from 92 in 1951, to 195 in 1952, 479 in 1953 and 578 in 1954.



Digest of Reports

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE CIVIL SERVICE 1953-55,
REPORT. London, H.M.S.O., 1955. vii, 238p. 6s. 6d.

The Commission were set up in 1953 to decide whether any changes were desirable (1) in the principles which should govern pay or in the rates of pay in force for the main categories of services, (2) in the hours of work, arrangements for overtime and remuneration for extra duty and annual leave allowances and (3) in the existing superannuation scheme. The Commission were composed of (1) Sir Raymond Priestley (Chairman) (2) Countess of Albemarle (3) Sir George Robert Mowbray (4) Sir Alexander Gray (5) Mr. F. A. A. Menzler (6) Mr. Hugh Lloyd Williams (7) Mr. S. F. Burman (8) Mr. William Cash (9) Mr. N. F. Hall (10) Prof. Willis Jackson (11) Mr. G. B. Thorneycroft and (12) Prof. Barbara Frances Wootton.

The Commission's Report, presented to British Parliament in November 1955, provides an eminently clear and fair assessment of the principles according to which pay and conditions ought to be examined, in the light of contemporary circumstances, in a huge organisation sharing both industrial and professional characteristics and yet immune from judgment by ordinary profit-and-loss standards.

(i) Principles Governing Pay Fixation

(a) *General Principles* : The Commission consider that the ultimate end of principles of pay should be "the maintenance of a Civil Service recognised as efficient and staffed by members whose remuneration and conditions of service are thought fair both by themselves and by the community they serve". The Commission elaborate this further to imply that "the interests of the community in general, of those responsible for administering the Civil Service and of the individual civil servants themselves should be kept in balance. The community must feel that it is getting an efficient service and that it is not being asked to pay an excessive price for it. Heads of Departments must have sufficient suitably qualified staff to carry out the tasks demanded of them. The individual civil servant must feel that his remuneration is not unreasonable". "A correct balance will be achieved only if the primary principle of civil service pay is fair comparison with the current remuneration of outside staffs employed on broadly comparable work, taking account of differences in other conditions of service".

The Commission strongly recommend the principle of "fair comparison" not only on grounds of fairness to all the three parties—the community, the Civil Service, and the individual civil servant—but also on the plea that this principle safeguards the civil servants from political pressure. For preserving the impartiality of the Civil Service, it is essential that there

should be little scope for the exercise of political considerations in matters like the fixation of pay and allowances. The salaries of all posts in the Service should be public knowledge and should not be susceptible to arbitrary variation; while at the same time there should be a reasonable measure of flexibility in adjusting pay and conditions of service to meet changed circumstances. This can be best ensured only through the principle of "fair comparison" which can be applied consistently by successor governments of different political complexion. The Commission further feel that it is implicit in the principles of fair comparison, that "civil service pay structure should reflect such changes as take place in the outside world. If, however, changes were proposed in the Civil Service with the intention of giving a lead on such matters to the country as a whole in order to further a political or social objective, civil service pay negotiations would become involved with political issues and the non-political character of the Service might well be impaired."

As regards internal relativities, both vertical and horizontal, these should be used as a supplement to the principle of fair comparison in settling civil service rates in detail, and may have to be the first consideration when outside comparisons cannot be made, but they should never be allowed to override the primary principle or to become rigid.

(b) *Fact-Finding* : The Commission's detailed proposals concerning new pay scales are in accordance with the principle of "broad comparability". They have been able to apply the principle of fair comparison with reasonable effectiveness to some grades of clerical and specialised work though they have not found it feasible to apply either the principle or the methods recommended by them to the extent they would wish them to see applied in the future. For a fuller and more effective application of the principle, the Commission recommend the establishment of a "fact-finding unit" in a branch of the Civil Service not directly connected with those divisions of the Treasury responsible for questions of pay and service conditions. It is further suggested that the Treasury and Civil Service associations should from time to time agree upon an appropriate selection of organisations which employ staff on broadly comparable work and whose rates of pay and conditions should be taken into account in determining Civil Service pay. This "fact-finding" should be a continuous and detailed study, by qualified and experienced staffs and should be divided into two parts. In the first process, that of establishing "job-comparability", they should keep themselves informed of developing techniques in the field of work comparison. In the second process, they should collect information on pay and conditions. Comparison should be with current rates rather than with trends in outside remuneration. The Civil Service should be a good employer in the sense that while it should not be among those who offer the highest rates of remuneration, it should be among those who pay somewhat above the average. Expressed in statistical terms, it means that "if it were possible to obtain for any specific job a set of rates 'representative of the community as a whole' which could be arranged in order from top to bottom, the civil service rate should be not lower than the median but not above the upper quartile. In practice, however, the field of selection will rarely, if ever, be representative of the community as a whole since it is proposed that it should consist of 'good employers'." Accordingly, the Commission suggest that the right range within which to make comparison should be around the

median. Furthermore, in making fair comparisons, due allowance should be made for career prospects, hours of work, leave, security of tenure, superannuation terms and the like. Factors which cannot be quantified should be roughly assessed for the whole relevant field of selection for comparison.

(c) *Pay of the Higher Civil Service* : The Commission state that in determining the remuneration of the higher Civil Service regard should be had to salaries in industry (private and nationalized), commerce and finance, to comparisons that can be made with other public services (for example, senior posts in the local authorities) and with senior university staffs, and to the level of remuneration which would be considered reasonable in the light of tradition and convention for the most senior Civil Servants.

The Commission further propose that there should be appointed by the Prime Minister, after informal consultation with staff interests, a committee of five persons chosen to reflect a cross-section of informed opinion in the country, with the function of "exercising a general oversight of the remuneration of the higher Civil Service". The committee should advise the Government, either at the latter's request or on its own initiative, on what changes are desirable in the remuneration of the higher Civil Service, and it should also be free to make such other enquiries as it sees fit.

The Commission also recommend the adoption of the principle of "broadbanding" for the higher Civil Service in order that within each class gaps between salaries shall not be less than £250 above £2,600 a year. Briefly the principle of "broadbanding" means that where different posts, whether in the same or different classes, carry roughly the same level of responsibility, they should have the same pay and that no attempt should be made to mark minor differences in the content of the work by minor differences in the rates of pay.

(d) *The Specialist Classes* : About the specialist classes, the Commission feel that any changes in their pay and career prospects should come about not by the application of a theory of parity with "corresponding" non-specialist classes but by a process of evolution through the application of the principle of fair comparison in an economy increasingly dependent upon scientific discovery and technological development. Complements in the specialist field should be as flexible as possible so that establishments will adjust themselves rapidly to the changing needs of the work and thus ensure that the Civil Service does not lag behind outside employment in improving the attractions and rewards of a scientific and professional career.

(e) *Provincial Differentiation* : On the question of provincial differentiation the Commission believe that a national rate, with additions for London and possibly other high-cost areas, would be preferable to the present scheme of provincial differentiation and negotiations for a change on these lines should be initiated as soon as possible. It is also suggested that the adequacy of the scale of transfer grants might be examined.

(ii) New Rates of Pay

The table below gives the new pay scales proposed by the Commission for various grades. The present pay scales are also shown.

	Present pay excl. overtime or extra duty allowance £	Present pay incl. overtime or extra duty allowance £	Proposed pay £
Administrative Class (London)			
Permanent secretary	4,500	—	6,000
Deputy secretary	3,250	—	4,250
Under secretary	2,600	—	3,250
Assistant secretary	1,700-2,200	—	2,000-2,600
Principal	1,245-1,595	1,344-1,620	1,300-1,850
Executive Class :			
Senior executive officer			
London	1,125-1,325	1,215-1,431	1,220-1,450
Provincial	1,077-1,257	1,109-1,295	1,140-1,370
Executive officer			
London	321-870	346-940	340-950
Provincial	306-830	315-855	325-900
Clerical Class :			
Clerical officer			
London	195-625	214-685	225-650
Provincial	186-595	193-618	210-610
Scientific Officer Class :			
Principal scientific officer			
London	1,245-1,595	1,344-1,620	1,300-1,850
Provincial	1,185-1,567	1,220-1,567	1,220-1,750
Scientific officer			
London	514-925	555-999	575-1,000
Provincial	489-885	504-911	535-950
Works Group of Professional Classes :			
Senior grade :			
London	1,470-1,595	1,588-1,620	1,600-1,850
Provincial	1,390-1,571	1,432-1,571	1,500-1,750
Main grade :			
London	1,095-1,415	1,183-1,528	1,150-1,550
Provincial	1,055-1,335	1,087-1,375	1,090-1,450
Medical Officer Class (London) :			
Senior medical officer	2,200	—	2,600
Medical officer	1,595-2,100	1,620-2,100	1,650-2,250

(iii) Overtime and Hours of Work

The Commission have found that the present practice whereby Civil Service staff work regular overtime is not prevalent in outside employment. The Commission regard it as an inefficient and uneconomic practice and recommend the gradual abolition of overtime and extra duty allowance as soon as practicable. It is proposed that the 'gross' working hours should become 'conditioned' hours of work (hours that must be worked before overtime or extra duty allowance is payable, or, in the case of the higher civil service, the prescribed minimum hours). Conditioned working hours in a fortnight should be 84 gross and 74 net in London, and 88 gross and 78 net elsewhere. These hours, it is stated, seem not unreasonable, having regard to outside practice. In making their decision the Commission were influenced by the difference in the time and stresses of travel as between inner London and the country generally. Meal intervals, it is stated, should be 60 minutes in London and elsewhere for lunch, with tea at desks where possible or "unofficial" breaks of five to 10 minutes where not.

The Commission further recommend that the 5-day week should be introduced as widely as possible in two stages, the first being the introduction of the 10½-day fortnight as soon as possible wherever practicable. Staffs in local offices who may have to work on Saturday frequently should be given compensation in the form of an alternative half-day in the week or shorter working hours.

(iv) Annual Leave

Proposing reductions in annual leave allowances, the Commission find that the present allowances are much more generous than those found in comparable employment outside the service, and the high figure of 48 days before the war was still more so. The prevailing leave allowances and the new ones proposed by the Commission are as shown on the next page.

The Commission recognize that alterations in matters such as leave and arrangements of hours tend to create administrative problems and they do not consider that major changes can be introduced overnight in such an organization as the Civil Service. They should take place in stages over a period.

*

*

*

The approximate cost of the new rates of pay recommended is estimated to be about £11m. a year while savings accruing from the abolition of overtime and extra duty allowances would be of the tune of about £120m. The Commission, however, point out that there is a third element in calculation also, namely the cost of such additional manpower as might be required if their recommendations were to be brought into force. But the Commission do not venture any estimate about the third element.

(v) Superannuation

On superannuation the Commission hold that the balance of present advantage lies in making no extension of the existing arrangements for preserving pension rights of Civil servants who leave the service of their own volition before the normal retiring age. The present limiting age of 35 for the grant of "added years" should be reduced to 30.

Present Leave Allowances	Proposed Leave Allowances
Administrative class ... 36 days; after 10 years, 48* days.	Staff on scales with maxima up to and including that of clerical officer 16 days; after 10 years, 19 days.
Executive officer ... 36 days.	Staff on scales with maxima above that of clerical officer up to and including that of senior executive officer 19 days; after 10 years on 19, 23 days; after 10 years on 23, 27 days; after 10 years on 27, 32 days.
Clerical officer ... 24 days.	Staff on scales with maxima above that of senior executive officer up to and including that of assistant secretary 27 days; after 10 years on 27, 32 days.
Shorthand typist ... 21 days; after 5 years, 24 days.	Staff on scales with maxima above that of assistant secretary 32 days.
Clerical assistant and copy typist ... 18 days; after 5 years, 21 days.	

* While this entitlement still remains, so does a limitation to 36 in practice.

The Commission recommend (with five dissentients) no change in the present application of Section 20 of the Superannuation Act, 1834, in relation to staff who retire and are re-employed in a lower grade, nor do they suggest any change in the arrangement whereby years served before the age of 60 reckon for superannuation purposes within a maximum period of 40 only. The following scale of annuities for unestablished staff are proposed :—

For staff with less than 5 years' service	.. Nil.
For staff with 5 but less than 10 years' service	.. 1 week's pay for each of the first 5 years' service and 2 weeks' for each of the second 5 years' service.
For staff with 10 or more years' service	.. 1 week's pay for each of the first five years' service, 2 weeks' for years between 5 and 10, and 4 weeks for each year after 10.

(vi) **General**

The Commission observe that in the past year the recruiting position in some classes had deteriorated. If the principle of fair comparison is applied it is expected that over a period something like the right proportions of recruits, both of high and of average quality, would be attracted to the service. Pay and conditions of service are, however, not the only factors affecting recruitment, and the Commission do not suggest their recommendations would provide complete and immediate solution of current difficulties.

The Report indicates that on the 1st July, 1955 the strength of the Civil Service within the ambit of the National Whitley Council was as follows :—

<i>Service</i>	<i>Established staff</i>	<i>Unestablished staff</i>	<i>Total</i>	
			<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
(a) Administrative class	2,596	165	2,761	0.4
(b) General service and departmental executive classes	63,043	3,461	66,504	9.2
(c) General service and departmental clerical and sub-clerical classes	144,339	40,437	184,776	25.5
(d) Typing grades	16,299	10,930	27,229	3.8
(e) Professional, scientific and technical classes	49,523	22,531	72,054	9.9
(f) Post Office manipulative grades (including cleaners, etc.)	171,050	36,179	207,229	28.6
(g) Messengers, cleaners, etc., (except Post Office)	16,406	12,457	28,863	4.0
(h) Post Office engineering and allied grades	65,240	13,511	78,751	10.9
(i) Others	29,905	25,669	55,574	7.7
Total	558,401	165,340	723,741	100.0

PLANNING COMMISSION : VILLAGE AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES (SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN) COMMITTEE. REPORT. *Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. 89p.*

The Committee, commonly known as 'Karve Committee', was set up in June 1955, in pursuance of a recommendation made by the National Development Council, with Prof. D.G. Karve as Chairman and Dr. D.K. Malhotra as Secretary. The Committee has underlined the need for a continuing and adequate supply of consumers' goods from small-scale and village industries' sector in the building up of "the modern structure" of production, and has recommended development programmes costing Rs. 259.61 crores for village and small-scale industries under the Second Five Year Plan. Special emphasis has been laid on decentralized use of improved production techniques.

In view of the growing importance of village and small-scale industries in the national economy and for facilitating the evaluation of integrated policy and programme in the field, the Committee has suggested that matters relating to these industries should be dealt with at a single focal point at all the three levels—Centre, State and the District. At the Centre there should be a separate Ministry, under a Minister with Cabinet rank, for small-scale and village industries, co-ordination with other Ministries being brought about through an appropriate committee of the Cabinet. The new Ministry should be advised by a co-ordinating committee consisting of chairmen of all the six All-India Boards working in the field. Similarly, there should be in the States a self-contained department, under the Minister who is also responsible for Co-operation, for looking after the development of village and small-scale industries and an officer of the highest departmental status should be responsible for working out an integrated programme of development. In each District there should likewise be at least one whole-time officer in charge of the administration and organisational aspects of the programme.

The Committee further considers that strengthening of the staffs of the various State departments concerned and the provision of adequate training at the various levels are of utmost importance and that any false economy on these heads will minimise the prospects of success of the whole plan. In regard to the working of the six All-India Boards engaged in the sector of small-scale and village industries, the Committee finds that they have, while giving adequate opportunities for non-official workers to influence the course of policy, been able to effectively orient official action in the desired direction. However, the whole question of determining the proper type of organisation for implementing a regular and normal programme of village and small-scale industries should be carefully examined before conferring a statutory status on the Khadi and Village Industries Board and similar other bodies.

PLANNING COMMISSION : PROHIBITION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE 1954-55. REPORT. *Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. iv, 183p.*

The Committee, which was established in December 1954 with Shri Shriman Narayan as its Chairman, has recommended that prohibition

should be regarded as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan with the 1st April 1958 as the target date for complete nation-wide prohibition. During the period between the 1st April 1956 and the 1st April 1958 a gradual transition to complete prohibition should be effected by restrictive measures. The Committee strongly feels that "Prohibition is co-operative endeavour between officials administering the law and leaders of public opinion producing the necessary climate for enforcement." "If there is any one factor that makes prohibition policy effective, it is the educative aspect of enforcement."

Important among the administrative measures which the Committee recommends are : (1) The appointment of a non-official of the highest standing as an Administrator of Prohibition in each State, charged with the responsibility mainly of (i) co-ordinating official and non-official activities in respect of enforcement matters and (ii) setting up of educative machinery. (2) The establishment of special enforcement and intelligence branches within the State Police Departments, consisting of trained personnel for prohibition work. The Committee does not contemplate the creation of a new hierarchy of salaried officials. (3) The creation of Prohibition Boards at the State level and Prohibition Committees at the district, village and *mohalla* (ward) levels. These advisory bodies should include representatives both of the official machinery and of voluntary social organisations and the public. The Committee further proposes the enactment of comprehensive prohibition legislation in each State wherever it does not at present exist, and suggests that the law should cover all the manifold ramifications of the liquor traffic. To treat prohibition offences as a class distinct by itself would be inexpedient and these should be treated at par with other offences.

MINISTRY OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY : STORES PURCHASE COMMITTEE. REPORT; MARCH 15, 1955. Delhi, Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955. iv, 239p. Rs. 2-6.

The Committee was appointed on March 11, 1953. Chairman : Shri S. N. Buragohain, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, till his demise in October, 1953; and Shri G.B. Kotak, M.L.A. (Saurashtra) w.e.f. December 18, 1953. The terms of reference include (i) scope and functions of the Central Purchasing Organization of India and the extent of delegation of powers for direct purchases; (ii) organisation of the Central Purchasing Organization to secure greater efficiency; (iii) procedure and methods of purchase to secure better quality of goods economically and expeditiously; (iv) procedure of inspection of stores; (v) assistance to articles of Indian manufacture—especially of small-scale and cottage industries; (vi) arbitration procedure; and (vii) disposal of surplus stores.

The Committee has recommended the setting up of (1) a high-powered Purchase and Development Board to control and co-ordinate Government's purchase; (2) a non-official Purchase Advisory Council to advise on procurement policy; and (3) a non-official Purchase Advisory Committee

to advise regional offices of the C.P.O. It has also suggested that a special purchase procedure should be evolved to promote indigenous manufacture of stores at present imported; certain classes of stores should be reserved for purchase only from cottage and small-scale industries; and a price preference of 25 per cent. should be allowed to small-scale and cottage industries, as against products of large-scale industries.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERLY REPORT

I. Preparation of Study Materials

During the quarter under review, a start has been made for the preparation of the following 'study materials' :

- (i) A manual which would give upto date description of the organization, functions and programmes of the various Departments of the Government of India and their subordinate and affiliated agencies;
- (ii) A monograph on facilities available for the "Study of Public Administration" at the Indian Universities; and
- (iii) A pamphlet which will present to the youth of the country, in a convenient form, an attractive and detailed picture of "Careers in the Public Service" at the Centre and at the State levels which are open to them.

II. Seminar of Directors of Institutes, and Heads of University Faculties or Departments, of Public Administration

It is proposed to organise the above Seminar at Delhi early in 1956.

The two principal topics for discussion will be : (1) what should be the aims and contents of courses in public administration given/to be given at Indian Universities and the relative emphasis on different parts of the courses; and (2) what factual material necessary for such courses is still wanting and what steps may be taken, by the Institute on the one hand and the Universities on the other, to make up the deficiency.

III. Library

The Institute's library now contains over 2,500 books and publications. The first instalment of an Author Catalogue

of about 575 publications, with a Subject Index at the end, is being published and supplied to members. The staff of the library is being strengthened to facilitate the starting of a reference service.

IV. Lectures

Mr. H. J. Wright, Chief Training Officer, Commonwealth Public Service Board, Australia, addressed an informal meeting of about 80 members of the Institute on the 4th November, 1955. Mr. Wright observed that general increase in the scope of Government functions in his country had necessitated a new emphasis on the proper use of human resources for achieving greater efficiency and speed in administration. The new demands arising from Government's greater concern with the economic and social well-being of the people, were being met by means of better selection and training, improved administrative methods, stricter internal examinations, general expansion of the inspectorial and research activities and a general policy of improving personnel practices.

Mr. Henry F. Goodnow, Public Administration Adviser, Institute of Public and Business Administration, University of Karachi, visited the Institute in the third week of October, 1955, and addressed the members and staff of the New Delhi Municipal Committee on the organization and working of the municipal government in the United States.

V. Building Programme

The Building Advisory Committee of the Institute at its last meeting held on the 21st December, 1955 have finalised the Building Programme which is expected to involve a non-recurring cost of Rs. 29,50,000. The construction of the building will be taken up as soon as practicable and is expected to be completed by the end of 1957.

VI. Regional Branches

The second meeting of the Bombay Regional Branch was held on the 12th November, when *Shri B. Venkatappiah*, I.C.S. (Retd.), Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, spoke on 'Reorganisation of Rural Credit'. The Branch has formed three study groups on the following subjects ;

- (i) Co-ordination of development activities in Poona District;
- (ii) Functions of Central and State agencies side by side in a selected area; and
- (iii) Working of the Bombay State Road Transport Corporation.

All members of the Branch have been requested to indicate the aspects of Public Administration in the study of which they are particularly interested. The Executive Committee of the Branch has appointed a Library Sub-Committee to take steps to build up a library for the Branch.



Book Reviews

INDIAN DOCTRINES OF POLITICS; K. M. PANIKKAR. *Ahmedabad, Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, 1955. 15p. 6 as.*

This is a reprint of the First Annual Lecture of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science which was delivered by Sardar K.M. Panikkar in July 1955. The Institute which was established in August 1954 is a non-partisan body. It conducts a library, holds seminars, and arranges talks 'with a view to better understanding the various issues of past and current political problems'.

In his first annual lecture Sardar Panikkar puts in a strong plea for an independent and objective study of the political thought of India. He considers that Laski's claim to greatness consists in his critical spirit and not in any special contribution to the theory of politics. This appraisal, while it acknowledges the undoubted scholarship which Laski brought to bear on his critical appraisal of the idealist as well as the materialistic theories of the state, leaves out of account two of his basic contributions. Nobody has done more than Laski to establish the validity of the proposition that democratic citizenship consists in actively participating to the greatest possible extent in the ordering of one's own social life, and that political equality has no reality for a citizen unless he also enjoys economic equality. The concept of democratic citizenship has been permanently enriched by Laski.

Sardar Panikkar is undoubtedly right in emphasizing the fact that Indian political thought has an independent existence, that it has its roots in the ideology and institutions of the country and that it is impossible to gather a meaningful understanding of the problems of Indian political and administrative life without following the trait of Indian concepts of political activity. For comparative and historical purposes, as well as for a study of what may be termed political philosophy, study of Western political literature is very valuable. Moreover, in so far as contemporary Indian life exhibits the social and economic traits of a developing industrial society many of the Western political concepts are beginning to have direct relevance to an understanding of the political and administrative problems of India. Nor can we afford to forget that the most significant and active currents of political life and of administrative organization in contemporary Indian life have been contributed by our association with the English people extending over two centuries.

Books like *Santi Parvam* in Mahabharata, *Artha Sastra* of Chanakya and *Sukra Niti* contain not only speculations about the nature and origin of the state, but also of the organization and working of the administrative system. The *Matsya Nyaya*—natural law of the bigger fish eating the smaller fish—is reminiscent of Hobbes's account of the state of nature as war of all against all; and the Indian authorization of the people's right to destroy a king who does not uphold the just order, *Dharma*, is reminiscent of Locke's thesis of a conditional social contract. The functional worth of a sovereign authority has been freely recognised in Indian political thought, as a life of morality and culture could not be thought of in an anarchical condition,

Probably Aristotle himself meant no more than this when he thought that the state was prior to the family, as the family was prior to the individual. It cannot, however, be denied that in Greek political thought a certain deification of the state, which was even more emphatically brought out in Sparta than in Athens, was a normal value. In this respect, Indian political thought was distinctly superior. The state, with the political sovereign as its supreme functionary was only one, and by no means the most exalted and respected, social organization. This honour was reserved for the moral and religious church. Besides, there were a number of occupational and regional organizations which, in their respective fields, claimed almost equal authority with the state. The Indian tradition was that of a plural, decentralized and functional distribution of social authority.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that the Indian concept of the state was purely secular. Far from it, it was largely theocratic, as the king was permitted to rule as a handmaiden of the church. The functions of the state were, however, co-extensive with the material life of the people, and with their moral life in so far as the church would need its aid. As, however, the church, which was the reserve power in the community and occasionally acted as even the senior partner, was organized on a doctrine of pre-destination, *Karma*, and caste, the relationship between individual and state was never an issue worth discussion. The community as traditionally organized had a collective relationship with the sovereign, who was considered to be the very epitome of the moral and material life of the community. Ancient Indian thought, moreover, cannot be said to be any more egalitarian than the Greek.

Pluralism, decentralization, functional sovereignty and active social functions of the state are some of the characteristic concepts of Indian political thought which are deep-rooted in our philosophy and culture. On the other hand, social equality, individual freedom, dynamic progress and expanding nationalism are concepts which have been adopted by us from the West. Like the rest of our thought our political thought also represents a synthesis between our inheritance and our acquired experience. Sardar Panikkar has rendered a signal service by his timely reminder to students of politics that for an adequate and fruitful understanding of our political problems the study of our own ancient thought, and an independent study of our own conditions and problems are extremely desirable.

—D. G. Karve

THE ROLE OF THE ECONOMIST AS OFFICIAL ADVISER;
W. A. JOHR & H. W. SINGER. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955.
 xii, 150p. 15s.

As Prof. E.A.G. Robinson says in his foreword to this English translation of the original book in German, "no economist can share, even in a temporary capacity, in the shaping and administration of economic policy without asking himself some searching questions about his proper functions and responsibilities and his proper methods of work". Prof. Robinson himself summarises Prof. Johr's version of these functions as that "it is a reasonable and proper function of an economic adviser to contribute actively to more general judgments: why one objective should be given priority over another;

whether available resources are more adequate to achieve one objective than another; whether two objectives of policy are likely to conflict with each other". While the main contents of the book are Prof. Johr's composition, Dr. Singer has at appropriate places added suitable comments giving the reactions and special experiences of an economic adviser in an international organization. All in all, the book constitutes a good manual for economic advisers, especially for those who are in official service.

That the economist as economist is not interested in value judgments, and that his role is purely one of analysis and correction unconcerned with practical applications are taboos which have long since crumbled. The inter-war depression, the second world war and the problems of post-war reconstruction and planning have impressed the economist into the service of the community not only for the purpose of obtaining a better understanding of economic problems, but also for formulating and implementing methods of social action to meet them. While to a certain extent a division of labour may still exist between the economist as the economic analyst and the economist as economic consultant, nobody thinks of accusing the latter as being less of an economist. Moreover, the two roles are becoming interchangeable. To derive from the economist the best possible contribution to the understanding and solution of social problems it is desirable that the economic consultants should learn from experience how best they may discharge their characteristic role in the community. Both the authors have special experience of participation, along with several other economists, in the process of economic advice. What they say is full of interest both to those who give, and those who receive, economic advice.

Their exhortation that an adviser must clearly define the aim, fully analyse the situation and then formulate a practicable course of action so as to achieve the aim, indicates clearly the three constituent elements of economic policy. If all advisers on all occasions could keep to this rigid procedure it would be better for everybody. This course of action, however, presupposes that those who invite the economist's advice are clear in their own minds about what the aim is, or that they are ready to take the course of action indicated by the adviser. In such circumstances it may at least be argued that the very insistence of the adviser on following these constituents would lend a definition to the goals and methods of economic policy. It is no use, however, concealing from oneself the by no means rare situation in which administrative and political authorities have undefined or undisclosed ends, have made up their minds about the course of action to be followed and need the services of the economic adviser either to rationalize or to justify their behaviour. The economist as a professional instead of being treated as a jurist tends to be treated as a lawyer. At this level the economic adviser ceases to be an economist. At best he becomes an economic practitioner.

Prof. Johr has vividly depicted the various weaknesses from which economic practitioners suffer, and he has enumerated the several difficulties in regard to forecasting, and advocacy which beset the way of a professional consultant. His appreciation of a successful consultant's "capacity to grasp and solve a problem at first sight" comes dangerously near to applauding sheer empiricism. Let us hope that this is intended to be no more than an approval of what may be termed the economic doctor's clinical skill.

Dr. Singer has rightly brought out the special difficulties of economic experts attached to international bodies. They have to be at least half diplomats, and while analysing and elucidating issues and suggesting alternatives they must refrain from appearing to advocate particular courses of action. It is for representatives of individual nations assembled at these gatherings to initiate action. There are also special difficulties arising out of teams of international economists belonging to more than one country, having divergent interests and ideologies. It is very heartening to read that these inherent difficulties of the situation are being successfully overcome by developing a new professionalism. One cannot, however, refrain from expressing a doubt as to whether it is really possible to produce a helpful paper which purports to be analytical, without being biased, or at least suggestive.

—D. G. Karve

THE GUARDIANS; PHILIP WOODRUFF. London, Jonathan Cape, 1954. 385p. 25s.

'The Guardians' is the second of the two volumes of the book entitled 'The Men Who Ruled India'. The first volume 'The Founders' was published in 1953. The author, Philip Woodruff, was himself one of these guardians during a momentous period of Indian history when events moved with unparalleled and almost revolutionary speed. It is an inspiring tale that he narrates and whatever criticism one may have because of omissions, etc., on points of fact and sometimes also on the inferences that he draws from the facts that he sets down—and there is naturally room for criticism of this nature—one must readily pay a tribute to the author for the admirably clear and objective manner in which he has dealt with the underlying theme. His object clearly is to show to the world at large what a difficult task faced the British in India and how well that task was tackled. He has undoubtedly succeeded in this to a remarkable extent and he has done so by the somewhat unusual method of describing critically the doings at successive periods of a few selected men, outstanding amongst a host of other outstanding people. The brief semi-biographical sketches given in the book bring out the conditions and problems of each successive period, the objectives the Government of the day had set for itself to achieve and how these problems were solved and the objectives achieved. We have, in the result, in these volumes a fascinating account of Indian history written from the angle of those who helped in making and shaping it during the past two centuries.

The second volume in particular might more appropriately be given the subtitle 'Aspects of Public Administration in India under the British'. In fairness to the author, however, it should be said that it is not the purpose of the book to analyse the methods of the administration in India or even to attempt an appraisal of these systems. Even so, the book would have become even more invaluable had the author given somewhat fuller idea of the role of the guardians at the policy-making stages, and of the competence with which this role was discharged.

In calling these men, who ruled India since 1857, 'The Guardians', Mr. Woodruff has been influenced by their striking similarity to the class of

men whom Plato considered to be the repositories of wisdom and courage of the State. Like Plato's guardians, the English guardians too certainly believed that 'there was something in their composition that distinguished them from the people they ruled'. Like Plato's guardians, they too were forbidden to hold property in India or to take part in trade and were governed by their elders on principles that would have been approved by Plato. The vast majority of these men had set for themselves a high standard of efficiency and public virtue. They also firmly believed that action should be taken along lines which they believed and knew to be right and did not consider themselves accountable for direction to the people even though their actions deeply affected the interests of the people and were almost invariably conceived for their benefit. Trevelyan pays these men a genuine tribute when he says that the 'public spirit among the servants of the Government at home is faint compared with the fire of zeal which glows in every vein of an Indian official'. (The reference, of course, is to the British official of the Indian Civil Service in India.) Trevelyan proceeds to explain the reason for this striking difference and the superiority of the Indian Civil Servants. "The real education", says he, "of the Civil Servant (in India) consists in the responsibility that devolves on him at an early age which brings out whatever good there is in a man; the obligation to do nothing that can reflect dishonour on the Service; the varied and attractive character of his duties; and the example and precept of his superiors who regard him rather as a younger brother than a subordinate official."

This training and tradition of doing the best they could in the discharge of their duties helped them during the rapidly changing conditions of service and work in the twentieth century. Things did not stand still even in India and indeed the "Guardians" themselves without knowing played a notable part in the bringing about of quite revolutionary changes in the economic and political atmosphere of the country. The acceptance of the principles of progressive responsiveness to the wishes of the people of the country began a process of widening the conception of Government's functions. Tasks of a developmental nature began to be undertaken even though grudgingly. The "Guardians" could not easily shed conviction born of the training and tradition that only they knew what was good for the country. And yet, despite their intimate contact with the people, particularly in rural areas, they failed—save here and there in their individual capacities—to read the signs of the changing times or to realise that the time for paternal Government was gone. It was no longer enough only to dispense even-handed justice and maintain peace. Developmental activities had to be undertaken. It is in this one direction that the "Guardians" failed signally; that was not however so much their fault as that of the system of Government. Democracy with all its shortcomings has been found in the long run to be superior to all other forms of government including benevolent autocracy, chiefly because of the fact that it is not enough to give to people what the Government consider to be right and in their best interest but that what is given must also have close relation to what the people themselves want and think to be right.

The benevolent democratic rule such as that of the British was afraid to function in a positive manner because it was not sure what the people wanted and partly because it was perhaps subconsciously anxious not to advance too fast. Today, the independent Indian Government know what the people want and is confident also of judging rightly what they should want. It is

assuming vast new responsibilities and discharging them with a remarkable degree of efficiency. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that free India's Civil Servants must set themselves a tradition of high standards of conduct just as the "Guardians" did, and must live up to those standards. The politicians too must set for themselves a no less high standard of public and private conduct.

The second important lesson the "Guardians" have for us is the value of training. The earlier official career of the young guardian was anxiously watched over by a senior who impressed on him, by example rather than precept, his own high sense of duty and his own conception of what is done and what is not done. A great deal of attention is being devoted today to the training of the new recruits by us also but not enough has yet been done in practice in regard to training *through example* at a stage when the young man starts first assuming some responsibility.

Finally, there is the question of morale. The "Guardians" high morale was due largely to the general attitude of encouragement of subordinates. Each superior was prepared to shower ungrudging praise on his juniors for work done well and to castigate no less unhesitatingly for work done incompetently. The importance of this treatment in maintaining high standards of administrative efficiency is not always realised although it is indeed as essential a factor for sound and stable administration as are adequate training, a high sense of duty and an irreproachable standard of conduct, public and private.

—H. M. Patel

AMERICA'S RESOURCES OF SPECIALIZED TALENT; (*Report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training*). New York, Harper & Bros., 1954. 332p. \$4.00.

The Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, of which the book under review—*America's Resources of Specialized Talent*—is a report, came into existence to continue the work done during the Second World War by Research Councils engaged in a scientific study of manpower problems. Considerable interest in the proper utilisation of manpower is usually evident in war time, but in peace there is a tendency to be complacent about the requirements of specialised talent, the assumption being that supply will adjust itself to demand, perhaps, with a short but unpredictable time lag. In an age, where speed is of the essence, the time lags, especially when they are unpredictable, should be considered undesirable if satisfactory economic progress is to be maintained. This is the reason why in most of the advanced countries, irrespective of their political persuasion, considerable importance is now being attached to investigations in different aspects of manpower planning by Government or private agencies. The present Report, which brings together information of considerable value has been made possible because of the help received from a non-official organisation—the Rockefeller Foundation. But as has been rightly pointed out the Report "public agency rather than private foundation should, probably, be responsible for the continuing functions of collecting specialised manpower information and making that information publicly available" (pp. 280-81).

The manner in which specialisation begets specialisation has been ably illustrated in the Report with reference to America's experience in different fields of specialised manpower over the last fifty years. There has been a significant shift during the period in fields of specialisation; humanities, arts and professions including health, law etc. conceding ground to social sciences, engineering, business, commerce and education. It is, perhaps, disconcerting to find that in 'medicine' the number of graduates turned out in America increased only from 27.8 thousand in 1901-5 to 29.9 thousand in 1946-50. In other fields, even with the increased supply it is feared that over large fields of specialisation the supplies are rather inadequate. The question as to how such a situation has not led to disproportionate increase in salary levels is answered by the flexibility of demand. "If engineers are scarce and can command high salaries, employers are likely to seek other types of workers and to make other arrangements in an effort to reduce the demand for engineers" (p. 75). This is, perhaps, feasible in fields, where skills are interchangeable, but whether all specialised professions afford the same kind of flexibility is a point which, perhaps, could have been conveniently elaborated in the Report.

In the chapter on "Supply and Demand in the specialised fields" the work done in the United States by various agencies, public and private, in projecting manpower requirements has been brought together. It has been further pointed out, however, that "projections of future supply or future demand are possible only if definite assumptions are made regarding rewards for work in different fields and the cost of obtaining the services of different kinds of specialists" (p. 76). Also it is assumed that "current economic and military conditions will continue without major change; employment levels will remain high and earnings in different fields will retain essentially their current relationships" (p. 76). These assumptions are necessary and without them no estimates of future manpower requirements can be arrived at. But, these are general assumptions and for estimating the future needs in each specialised field, different methods of approach may have to be adopted. In some fields the methods have to be adjusted to the nature and volume of specific tasks to be achieved; in others they may have a relation to the society's desire for the expansion or contraction of certain services. The methods described in the Report are more by way of the interpretation of statistical material; and it would have been useful if at least in some categories of personnel the manner of collection of data was also described.

It is interesting to note that in the United States there is a waste of talent, if judged in the light of the criterion "a society can attain its full potential only when each of its members is enabled to contribute as fully as his individual abilities permit" (p. 137). That, however, is an extreme criterion to apply, especially in a country where a large variety of lines are open to persons with broad-based education. There is also a suggestion that the college and school classes could be doubled without serious detriment to efficiency. This statement judged in the light of the insufficient supply of teachers is rather confusing. It is not understood whether the observations taken together would indicate a preference in favour of quantity as against quality. The observation would have relevance in one sense that in the United States, of late, there has been a tremendous progress in narrow specialisation—breaking of a job into its smaller components—and permitting

specialisation for each part of the job which would, perhaps, render unnecessary a wider educational base for a majority of persons.

Another kind of wastage is also referred to very aptly as follows: "labour union, the employment office and the industrial personnel departments help to keep the country's plumbers, machinists and clerks at work in the fields in which they are experienced and do so more effectively than does any machinery which exists for providing same kind of services to country's mathematicians, linguists and lawyers" (p. 271). The ineffectiveness and inadequacy of the machinery for the latter type of personnel is also stressed, but even if an efficient machinery were available, it is doubtful whether mathematicians, linguists and lawyers, who essentially stray in a variety of fields, could be so channelled as to satisfy only a specific demand.

The most interesting part of the Report, perhaps, is the chapter on the "Utilisation of Educated Specialists" which contains a number of suggestions for using unutilised skills at a time when every engineer or scientist added to the total pool can make a significant contribution to the nation's progress. Viewed in this light, the utilisation of superannuated workers, the employment of educated women in larger numbers, the better utilisation of established specialists by making available to them an increased measure of technical assistance—all assume a new significance not only for America, but for all countries where shortage of technical talent impedes development.

On the whole the Report is a valuable addition to the scarce literature on the subject and has many important lessons for research workers in the field of manpower planning. Even though considerable information is made available in a very concise manner, the Report is modest enough to lament the inadequacy of data and that too in a country which has a far advanced statistical machinery than is available to many others. This in itself shows the immensity of the problem and the need of a much bigger effort that is necessary in underdeveloped countries where the need for optimum utilisation of specialised talent is all the more acute in the context of development.

—B. N. Datar

THE PRACTICE OF MANAGEMENT; PETER F. DRUCKER.
London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1955. 355p. 25s.

The title of the book generally belies the treatment of the subject. It should really have been called 'The Philosophy of Management' as actual examples have been employed to theorise on various aspects of managing a business. From the nature of the subject handled, it is difficult to escape the charge that at times theorising borders on casuistry. The subject has however been skilfully analysed and presented in a delightfully easy style. The book is of absorbing interest and thought-provoking, even though one may differ from the conclusions suggested or the nature of evidence adduced in support of them.

The main theme of the book is that management, in the context of the cold war, is necessary for the survival of the Western civilization and for the continuance of the freedom of erstwhile colonial countries—a philosophy which is in a way the product of current tensions on the political plane. The ideological emphasis is probably intended to purge business under the capita-

listic system of many of its drawbacks which make it incompatible with current progressive thought in the West. For example, profitability is not regarded by the author as a primary motivating force though business must make adequate profits to cover the risk of economic activity and for the maintenance of wealth producing resources. It is contended that this is in conformity with the Soviet theory of 'management by the roubles'. Successful business, of which Sears Roebuck is cited as an example, is defined in terms of objectives such as continuous customer research and innovation in product designs. The vicissitudes of the Ford Company support the theory that objective management is superior to individual direction howsoever brilliant. Thus under the influence of progressive ideas, business has assumed, under the thesis of the author, some of the altruistic principles embodied in the concept of socialisation of resources. The author has perhaps not realised, though readers can hardly miss it, that this concept of business narrows the ideological gap between the contestants in the cold war. The utility of the book is enhanced thereby in that it can be read profitably by all schools of thought. There is enough that repays the reader's attention in the excellent analysis that the author has made of some aspects of management that are common to private business, nationalised undertakings and Governmental activities.

It will be difficult to reproduce in the space of this review a systematic analysis of his thought-structure. The subject is so vast and the sequence of arguments so close that it will be doing violence to the book to attempt it. Attention is therefore drawn to a few isolated ideas of general interest which are indicative of the nature of subject dealt with in the book.

The author attempts a dynamic definition of management. It is not synonymous with the 'top' people or the 'boss'. It does not consist in mechanical assemblage of resources. It is a creative rather than an adaptive task. It is not a creature of the economy; it is a creator as well. In fact, management seeks to transmute resources by utilising human beings to better purpose. Management is not therefore a matter of 'hunch' or 'native ability'. Intuitive manager is a luxury that few companies can afford owing to the long time-span between a decision and the ripening of its fruit in modern industrial economy. Setting objectives enables a business to get where it should be going rather than be the plaything of weather, wind and accidents. He defines eight areas in which objectives of performance and results have to be set: market standing, innovation, productivity, physical resources, profitability, manager performance and development, worker performance and attitude, and public responsibility. He then proceeds to discuss these objectives in detail.

Mr. Drucker's most remarkable analysis of management problems is contained in the chapters on 'The Principles of Production', 'Managers must Manage', 'Developing Managers', 'What kind of Structure', 'Building the Structure', 'I.B.M. Story', and 'Human Organization for Peak Performance'. The emphasis all the time is on the central purpose of management, namely the organisation of economic resources in the service of the society. This purposive premise gives his conclusions somewhat of a wider appeal than to the business undertakings in a capitalistic system. Important among these conclusions are :—

- (i) Production is not the application of tools to materials but the application of logic to work; each system of

production—of which he mentions four : production of unique products, mass production, new and old styles, and process production—has its own logic and makes its own demands on management.

(ii) Structure of a business is not a matter of *ad hoc* adjustment. It should be based on careful analysis in terms of its objectives. This analysis should be made under three broad categories : activities analysis, decision analysis and relations analysis. The functions of each of these are described in detail.

(iii) The job of the Chief Executive in every business (except perhaps the very smallest) cannot properly be organised as the job of one man. It must be the job of a team of several men acting together; otherwise there is the tendency to constitute 'Kitchen Cabinets'—motley staff of personal confidantes, miscellaneous assistants, 'control' section, etc.—and reduce management to 'administration by crony'.

(iv) Central office specialists more often than not seriously impede the work of operating managers; they are much too interested in pushing their particular 'programme'. In every company the biggest organisation problem is the relationship between these specialists and the management whom they are supposed to serve.

(v) Emphasis laid by management technicians upon limited span of responsibility for supervision is hardly justified. A manager should have responsibility for a few more men than he can take care of; otherwise he is likely to take over their jobs or 'breathe down' the necks of his subordinates.

(vi) 'Job rotation' as the tool for developing higher executives hardly serves any useful purpose. One does not become broader by adding one narrow speciality to another; one must see the job as a whole. A man should never be given a job that is not a real job, that does not require performance from him.

(vii) Promotions 'out of turn' have certain drawbacks too. The concept of the 'promotable-man' focusses attention on one man out of many; consigning the majority who manage the business at all levels, to the limbo. Whatever can be gained by developing the chosen few is offset by stunting the resentment of those who are passed over.

The book begins and closes with a note about the indispensability of management to the Western economic system. Such a thesis leads the author to regard management as a primordial resource of business while workers and capital are assigned orbital roles. Whenever a crisis arises, Mr. Drucker argues, it is management that is replaced and not workers; capital is inanimate and hence of secondary importance. Many unconvincing arguments are employed by the author to deify his particular concept of management, namely that it is the basic resource of the business enterprise and its scarest,

This almost hyperbolic description of management has obscured his vision and it is perhaps due to this that the book practically omits a discussion of the optimum size of the business. Perhaps the logical conclusions of this subject would have impaired the theory built by him either way. Too big an enterprise would tantamount to cartelisation—an anathema even in the U.S.A.; medium and small enterprises do not need such extensive theorising for their management. Though recognising the value of profit-sharing schemes for increasing production, the author has failed to appreciate the significance of worker-management co-operation in planning production: he considers that the effectiveness of the worker is determined by the way he is managed. These are some of the minor faults of the book amidst many of its major virtues by which it must ultimately be judged.

—Indarjit Singh

TEACHING MANAGEMENT—A Practical Handbook with Special Reference to the Case Study Method; *HARRY NEWMAN AND D. M. SIDNEY.* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955. 274, xxvi p. 15s.

The handbook written by two men eminently qualified by special study and experience to teach management subjects, discusses in detail the relative merits of the various teaching methods as applied to the study of management. While the authors devote considerable space to the need for systematic and intelligent planning of the lecture, the syllabus, lesson plans, handling of the first class and examinations, they concentrate primarily on participation methods of instruction like the discussion group, directed and non-directed discussions, role playing and case studies. Part II (chapters 8 to 10) which deals with the case study approach to management education is especially instructive. The book has a foreword by Lt. Col. L.F. Urwick and the authors also reproduce, as an appendix, a letter written in 1951 by Lt. Col. Urwick as leader of the Anglo-American Productivity Team on Management Education, to the Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

The 'Introduction' contains a confession that 'management is not a subject like engineering or physics' and 'to teach management is to teach a constant social process and not a comparatively static system of facts'. The authors feel that we must fully recognise the limitations of the scientific method as it applies in the less precise area of management studies. They further believe that management skills cannot altogether be abstracted and taught theoretically, as management deals with human beings and teaching general principles is not enough. Accordingly, whether or not management can ever become an exact discipline, it is certain that in the present day the teacher must attempt to teach not so much the science of management as an objective approach to its problems.

In the opinion of the authors, the case study method provides the nearest approach to practical management experience. The case method teaches the student to examine and analyse, it also impels him to draw conclusions and to decide. Case study gives students a broad overall view of management, brings out the inter-dependence of various parts of the organisation and encourages an approach to problems whereby each situation is handled on its own merits and irrelevant principles or 'standard' solutions are avoided.

The philosophy behind the case study is that 'learning takes place through participation. Criticism or guidance from one's peers is educative, criticism from a superior is not'. At Harvard where the case study method is in vogue, teachers do little more than provide a situation in which discussion can take place. At other institutions the teacher plays a slightly more than active role. After all, the authors point out : "People do not learn to think by being told how to, but by getting practice in thinking. One of the trainer's main functions is to give them this practice." In short, while the other methods emphasise 'know-how', the case study stresses 'know-why'.

The authors examine the usefulness of different types of case studies—the success story, personal statement and limited objective case and conclude that the longer problem cases are best for the middle and higher levels of management. The case study, they further feel, has obvious limitations: it is not possible to cover all material by using case studies alone; the case study does not impart the knowledge of a company's background and personalities involved; skill in dealing with case studies is not a sure criterion of skill in management. The usefulness of the case study method mainly lies in fields where human factor is important—where a knowledge both of 'know-how' and 'know-why' is essential for success on the job.

The application of the case study method to public administration is quite a recent development. Beginning with the earlier studies of the Social Science Research Council in the years 1934-1945, recent case studies undertaken in the United States by the Committee on Public Administration Cases and under the Inter-University Case Programme are more on questions of substantive policy. These studies underline the influence of various social disciplines like psychology, sociology and politics, in 'decision-making'. The use of case method, borrowed from business management studies, in programmes of in-service training would go a long way to sharpen the capacity of the administrators for dispassionate analysis and critical judgment, lead to more balanced decisions and provide a common ground for understanding between government and people.

Case studies have hardly been developed in India. The techniques of case study detailed in the book could be usefully drawn on for purposes of preparing suitable studies. The book should, therefore, be of great interest to both teachers and trainees engaged not only in the field of management but also in the sphere of public administration.

—B.S.N.

TRAINING IN HOME MANAGEMENT; MARGARET WEDDELL.
London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955. vi, 198p. 12s. 6d.

The study of the principles and techniques of management, as applied in private industry, has during the last few decades been attracting increasing attention, especially in the United States. Its incursion into other fields, e.g., public administration, has been comparatively a slow process; its extension to matters like home management which are commonly considered to be the domain of domestic life, has so far been virtually unknown. Margaret Weddell breaks a new ground in bringing the science of management nearer to our

daily lives. The cause of unsuccessful homes, she points out, very often lies "in general muddle and mis-management; or in financial anxiety; or still more likely, in unsatisfactory human relationship.....Muddle whether in daily routine or in the budgeting of money is a matter of organisation. Thus we have three headings.....the human side, organisation and crafts. To these may be added another—a knowledge of, and interest in, the relevant arts and sciences." Viewed in the scientific perspective, the technology of home-making therefore follows the same principles as does any industrial organisation or public agency. The basis of modern home-making, like that of an industrial enterprise, is "partnership and individual freedom", and "to blend these harmoniously under present-day living conditions needs much.....thought and attention".

Margaret Weddell takes great pains to remove the age-old prejudice that training in home management is either redundant or unfruitful. The majority of housewives are trained 'on the job'; and it is thus widely assumed that any woman is qualified by her nature and sex to do household work. It is also contended that training in home-making cannot implant in women that love for children which is the mainspring of family happiness. The traditional training in housecrafts has accordingly been mainly confined to cooking, laundering and sewing. Against all these, the author draws our attention to the damage done by the untrained housewife to her own nervous system and to the family at whose expense she learns by experience to perform her duties. She further stresses that 'domestic literacy' alone cannot raise the general tone of family life. If organised training has yielded dividends in the case of many types of work formerly learnt only by experience, it can also help the amateur housewife substantially to develop those attitudes, skills and knowledge which make for good and happy homes.

The author reviews briefly the activities of the numerous and varied private, state, and professional organisations and agencies found in the U.K. which impart education and training in home skills and crafts, and applauds the close partnership which exists between the statutory bodies and the voluntary services. She finds that while there is surprisingly enough a large number and variety of such institutions there is no central clearing house for pooling together of information and experience, there is a shortage of highly skilled teachers and inadequate emphasis on education for home-making *as a whole*. What is needed is a concerted drive towards dovetailing the work of social and education agencies with that of specialised bodies, and a more imaginative and bold scheme of further education in home-making which should give greater attention to problems of child development, marriage guidance, care of the old, labour saving equipment and budgeting. The new aim should be to make 'average families really good' and 'good ones really excellent'.

The book is written in an admirably lucid style and may be read with advantage by all persons interested in the wider ramifications of the science of management.

—U.M.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES; Stene and Associates. *Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines.* 1955. x, 415p.

The book, No. 15 in the series of the publications of the Philippine Institute of Public Administration, is a collection of contributions by different authors on the various aspects of Philippine administration. The subjects covered include national administrative structure, centralism in administration, personnel administration, national planning and regulatory agencies, local government, internal and auxiliary service, government corporations, budgeting and financial control, administration of public revenues, foreign affairs' administration, political and legal controls, and new developments in Philippine Public Administration.

The work is the result of the co-operative efforts of the staff—both American (on deputation from the University of Michigan) and Philippine—of the Philippine Institute and is intended to serve as 'the core of text material' for the Institute's academic programme. The contributions give an illuminating and somewhat detailed account of the principal features and characteristics of public administration in Philippines. We find that the problems of public administration in underdeveloped countries of Asia show a remarkable similarity. For instance, both in the Philippines and India, there is, due to the low level of development, a noticeable tendency for the best brains of the nation to be attracted to government and professions; government interest and intervention in the economic sector is widely accepted as legitimate and necessary; there is a marked insistence on the legal and procedural framework for improving administration as well as for safeguarding the rights of the individual civil servant; an increasing emphasis on the extension of the merit system; a general lack of equipment and facilities for the use of advanced techniques of operation and shortage of technically trained or experienced personnel.

The Philippine administration, however, exhibits certain distinct features not found in India. The system of government in the Philippine Republic is presidential and unitary; there is a high degree of centralism, and local autonomy to administer local programmes is virtually absent; there is hardly a 'position classification' plan in the modern sense; the Civil Service includes both 'elective and appointive' personnel; the administration of the Civil Service is highly centralised and vested in the Bureau of Civil Service which is under the direct supervision of the President; the Bureau is responsible for recruitment as well as for maintaining the discipline and its decisions though final can be appealed to the Civil Service Board of Appeals; there exists a Presidential Complaints and Actions Committee as also a system of numerical rating of elements of efficiency; and a beginning has recently been made with the introduction of programme budgeting.

The descriptive materials given in the book have been supplemented by generalisations and critical analyses, and some of the conclusions drawn are extremely interesting. Referring to the effect of climate on ecology of Philippine Government, Professors Larson and Stene observe :

"The enervating effects of tropical climate are clearly evident and may explain in part the amount of time required

to complete even the simplest routine activities of government. Governmental sensitiveness, also is sometimes attributed to climate. The daily newspaper reports indicate that crimes of emotion are relatively high in Philippines. Administrative and supervisory techniques in government must be adapted to a likelihood of highly emotional responses among employees and the public alike."

The following remarks of Professor Abueva on the application of the human relations approach in underdeveloped countries are also highly significant :

"Historical and cultural factors in the Philippines complicate the problem of applying the human relations approach. Centuries of domination by a stern colonial administration developed attitudes and patterns of interpersonal relationships which are not well suited to its adoption. Thus the new approach may be accepted intellectually, but conditions for its acceptance in practice have yet to be brought about over a long period."

In chapter III, Professor Stene sums up the influence of centralism in Philippine administration as follows :

"Effective over-all authority and leadership cannot be maintained where there is minute control over details of procedure. Thus the Cabinet, by devoting much of its time to minor administrative matters, fails to serve as a strong advisory body to the President on matters of national policy. The Bureau of Civil Service has already lost the battle to maintain a merit system; the Auditor's office exerts far less influence in the avoidance of illegal or wasteful expenditures than its detailed scrutiny would indicate; and the Bureau of Supply can realize virtually none of the advantages of centralized purchasing. The house-keeping services have largely broken down and all that remains is a time-consuming and expensive system of procedures. The same kind of situation holds largely for the central offices of department Secretaries."

The above observations are presumably the result of an objective and co-operative study by the authors; they might even represent the personal views and opinions of foreign experts *not* fully acquainted with local traditions and conditions. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to know what the Philippine nationals themselves, especially those who have a first-hand knowledge and experience of the Philippine administration, think of the matter.

—B. S. N.

PAPERWORK MANAGEMENT : PART I, In the U.S. Government : A Report to the Congress : REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT (Second Hoover Commission). Washington D.C., Superintendent of Documents, 1955, vii. 24p. 15c.

The report of the Commission as also of its Task Force examines the cost and volume of paperwork in the Federal Government and ways and means for economy in expense and effort. The Commission have made a series of recommendations concerning rationalisation of forms, reports and correspondence methods, effective utilisation of office machines and equipment, standardising of recording procedures, and training in paperwork management. The Commission have further proposed that there should be in each Government department a top official responsible for supervising and directing paperwork management and that at the Federal level this responsibility should rest with the General Services Administration.

The Commission find that it is only in a few instances that the Government directives and instructions are issued in the most effective, co-ordinated and economical manner. A common "wasteful condition is the practice in some agencies of subordinate echelons rewriting and expanding the instructions received from above. Not only is this practice costly, but confusion as to the original meaning is increased each time the original is paraphrased and interpreted. While some flexibility must be retained, substantial re-writing can be avoided by the department forwarding to its subordinate units only those directives or portions of directives of concern to them."

In respect of the registration of 'dak', a survey made by the Task Force has revealed that the average cost for registering and controlling mail was 21 cents (*i.e.* Re. 1) per item. The Task Force considers that the registration of incoming mail should generally be limited to such categories of receipts as involve the problem of the rights of the Government and the individual.

The Commission are very critical of the quality of personnel placed in charge of paperwork in the U.S. Government departments and agencies. The latter "either scatter responsibilities for various segments of the field among relatively trained, low-ranking employees as a part-time activity, or push the responsibility off onto some higher ranking employee too busy to give serious attention to it". The Commission therefore recommend that the U.S. Civil Service Commission should fix definite standards of qualification and experience and pay for the personnel engaged on paperwork management and that the departments and agencies should give more attention to training such personnel in the highly specialised job of paperwork management.

Each of the three recommendations mentioned above could be profitably applied in the case of Central and State Secretariats in India where the position is reported to be not very much different in these matters. Shelved of their 'pseudo-technical' terms, the reports should make a useful reading for our administrators in general and 'O & M' officers in particular.

—C. K. S.

NATIONALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT—Example of British Coal-Mining; S. K. SAXENA. *The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1955. 184p.*

Tracing the history of industrial conflict in the coal-mining industry in the U.K. since its nationalisation in 1947, the book reviews some major disputes in the industry and the results of a field enquiry into the local labour relations situation, conducted at two collieries.

The author finds that at the time of nationalisation, trends towards a uniformity in the wage structure were discernible. But the National Coal Board has not been able to evolve a definite systematized method of wage payment all over the country; and a large number of disputes still relate to wage issues. More important than that is perhaps the absence of any material change in the outlook of the miners who as yet have not outgrown their earlier unpleasant associations. On the whole, Mr. Saxena feels that industrial unrest is generally declining, and concludes that "it would probably be correct to say that the amount of co-operation and goodwill which now exists at the national level would have been very difficult to achieve under private ownership of the industry".

—J.M.K.

TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA SINCE THE TRANSFER OF POWER; B. S. KHANNA. *Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Book Agency, 1955. 20p. Rs. 2. The Research Bulletin (Arts), University of Punjab, No. 16.*

The pamphlet gives a very short but succinct bird's-eye view of the major developments in the field of public administration in India since Independence. The survey is divided into two parts: (1) developments in the civil service structure, recruitment methods, training programmes, conditions of service, and relations between the civil servants, legislators and ministers; and (2) trends in organisation, methods and procedures, especially in regard to the form of organisation for operating public enterprises, decentralisation of administration and delegation of financial powers, separation of the judiciary from the executive and the use of advisory committees and O & M techniques.

—R.G.M.

THE BIG BUSINESS EXECUTIVE—The Factors That Made Him; MABEL NEWCOMER. *New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. xii, 164p. \$4.00.*

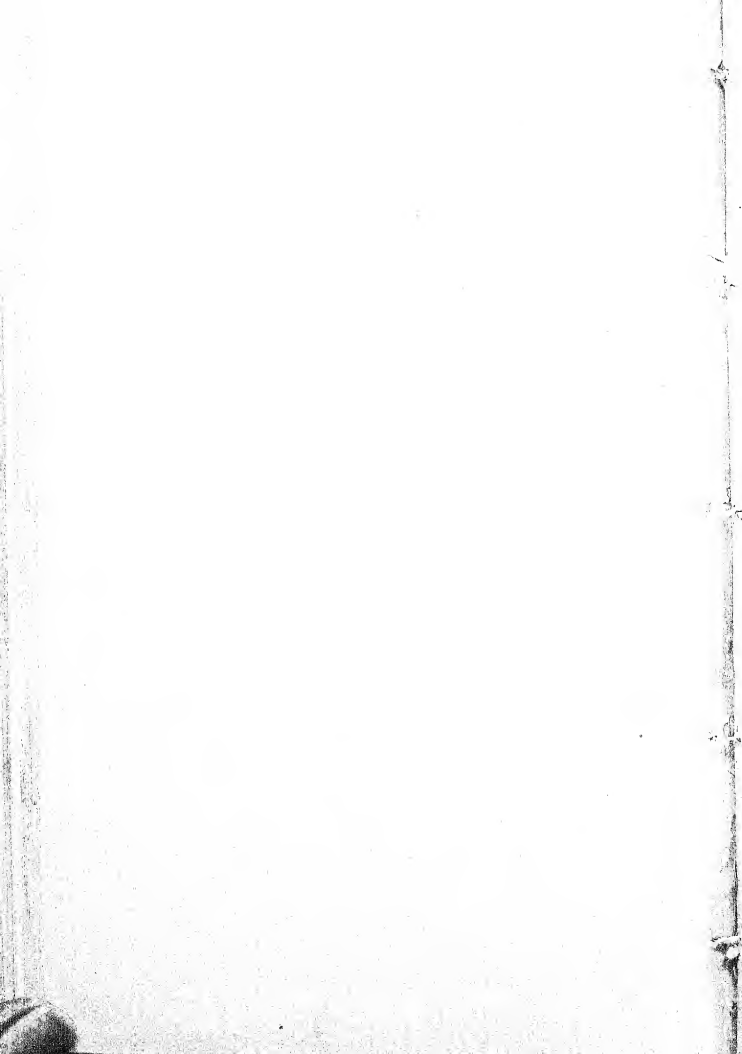
This is an interesting study of the family background, education, training and experience of 'top executives' of the big business in the United States. The recent trend towards professionalism in business is characterised by greater emphasis on education, better chances for men from low income groups to reach the top, development of a code of professional ethics and longer periods of apprenticeship. Dr. Newcomer, however, does not give the final answer to the basic question: "What kind of education makes for a successful executive"? She feels that college education contributes to success, but not specialised education in such fields as law and engineering. The typical executive has had some specialised professional training but he is more of a specialist in a single business organisation in which he has spent the larger part of his life and which he heads.

—K.R.S.

CONTENTS



		Page
Administration—A Human Problem	<i>Jawaharlal Nehru</i>	1
The New Civil Servant	<i>N. R. Pillai</i>	2
Comparative Public Administration	<i>Paul H. Appleby</i>	3
Public Administration and Directive Principles of the Constitution	<i>D. G. Karve</i>	8
The Forms and Directions of Public Enterprise	<i>William A. Robson</i>	14
Co-operation and Economic Development	<i>Tarlok Singh</i>	25
Improving Civil Service Public Relations	<i>O. C. Mazengharh</i>	33
Legislative Staff Agency	<i>R. Dwarkadas</i>	35
How to Organise an Exhibition	<i>N. P. Dube</i>	38
Public Relations in Tax Administration	<i>Dalip Singh</i>	45
Introduction to Public Administration —A Synopsis	<i>W. W. Crouch</i>	50
Thinking Big	<i>Paul H. Appleby</i>	59
O & M in the Government of India	<i>S. B. Bapat</i>	61
Editorial Notes		81
Director's Report		83



CONTENTS

		Page
Concerning Ministers	<i>Paul H. Appleby</i>	89
One Indivisible Whole	<i>The Hon'ble Shri G. V. Mavalankar</i>	92
Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament and the Public	<i>The Right Hon'ble C. R. Attlee</i>	95
Health Programme in the Community Project Areas	<i>Barkat Narain</i>	104
The Structure of Development Administration	<i>U.L. Goswami</i>	110
The Training of the Indian Administrative Service	<i>S. B. Bapat</i>	119
People's Co-operation in the Kosi Project	<i>Kanwar Sain</i>	130
Administrative Relations in Planning	<i>Tarlok Singh</i>	137
Provident Fund for Labour in Select Industries	<i>S. Neelakantam</i>	152
The Regulation of Forward Markets	<i>W. R. Natu</i>	159
Editorial Notes		170
Director's Quarterly Report		172
Book Reviews	<i>S. B. Bapat, I. J. Bahadur Singh, V. M. Albuquerque</i>	176

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Lt. Col. V. M. Albuquerque, L. R. C. P. (Lond.), F. R. C. S. (Eng.), M. B. E.; commissioned in the Indian Medical Service 1933; served in Waziristan operations and World War II; Medical Planning Officer and Deputy Surgeon General, Bengal, 1945-47; Medical Commissioner, Employees' State Insurance Corporation, 1947-50; Professor of Surgery, Armed Forces Medical College, Poona, 1951-53; Director General, Employees' State Insurance Corporation, Dec. 1953—.

Shri I. J. Bahadur Singh, Indian Counsel, Shanghai, 1946; Addl. Secy., Nanking; First Secy., Indian Liaison Mission, Tokyo, 1947; Indian representative U. N. Temporary Commission on Korea 1948; joined the Indian Foreign Service 1949; First Secretary, Indian Embassy Washington, 1950-51; International Armistice Commission, Korea, 1953; Deputy Secretary (External Publicity), Ministry of External Affairs, June 1954—.

Lt. Col. Barkat Narain, M. B. B. S., D. P. H. (Edin); commissioned in the Indian Medical Service 1933; served in the army; D.A.D.G., Medical Stores Dept., 1941-44; Chief Medical Officer, Delhi State, 1944-47; Director of Health Services, Delhi State, 1947-53; Deputy Director, Malaria Institute, 1953-54; Health Adviser, Community Projects Administration, February 1954—.

Shri U. L. Goswami, joined Burma Civil Service 1937; transferred to the Indian Civil Service during World War II; Deputy Secretary, Government of India, 1948; Secretary, Community Projects Administration, April 1952—.

Shri Kanwar Sain, C. E. (Hons.); joined Indian Service of Engineers 1923; served in Punjab Irrigation Department till 1947; Chief Engineer, Bikaner State; Member, Central Waterpower Irrigation & Navigation Commission, 1949; Chief Engineer, Hirakud Dam Project 1951 (addl. charge); Consultant to the Bureau of Flood Control, ECAFE, 1952; Chairman, Central Water & Power Commission, June 1953—; Chairman, Central Board of Irrigation & Power, 1954; presided over International Symposium on Arid Land, New Mexico, 1955.

Shri S. Neelakantam, joined Government service, 1924; Under Secretary, Ministry of Works, Mines & Power, 1944; Deputy Secretary, 1946; Controller of Printing and Stationery, 1948; Joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, 1949-52; visited U.K. for special study of social security schemes, 1952-53; Central Provident Fund Commissioner, April 1954—.

Shri Tarlok Singh, joined Indian Civil Service, 1937; Assistant Commissioner, Assistant Financial Adviser (Supply Fin.), Under Secretary, Financial Department, (Punjab); Private Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs (Commonwealth Relations Department), 1946; Director of Rehabilitation, Punjab, 1947; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance (Economic Affairs Department), 1949; Deputy Secretary, Planning Commission, 1950, Joint Secretary, 1953—.

Shri W. R. Natu, joined Bombay Education Service, 1939; Prof. Commerce, Prof. adv. Banking, Prof. Economics, Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay; Secretary, Post-war Development Committee, Bombay Co-operative Institute; Economic & Statistical Adviser, Government of India, Department of Agriculture, 1944-50; Alternate Executive Director for India on the International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1951-54; Member, Forward Markets Commission, February 1954, Chairman, March 1955—.

CONTENTS

		Page
Public Servant in a Democracy	<i>Govind Ballabh Pant</i>	181
Government in the Communal Villages of Israel	<i>Edwin Samuel</i>	184
Accountability of Administration	<i>N. V. Gadgil</i>	193
Principles of Selection in Public Services	<i>R. C. Dutt</i>	204
Democratisation in Administration	<i>R. K. Patil</i>	212
Public Corporations in Japan	<i>Shiro Okabe</i>	217
Reorganising the Indian Income-tax Department	<i>Indarjit Singh</i>	224
On Bureaucracy	<i>S. V. Kogekar</i>	240
Targets and Stock-taking	<i>S. T. Merani</i>	251
Problems of Government Publicity in India	<i>S. R. Gupta</i>	254
Editorial Notes		266
News from India and Abroad		267
Director's Quarterly Report		274
Book Reviews		277
	<i>D. G. Karve</i>	
	<i>V. K. N. Menon</i>	
	<i>R. C. Dutt</i>	
	<i>Humayun Kabir</i>	
	<i>K. G. Saiyidain</i>	
	<i>G. L. Bansal</i>	

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Shri G. L. Bansal : M.A., L.L.B.; a leading figure in commerce, industry, politics and public life in India; Secretary-General, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry since 1951; elected to Parliament in 1952; has been a delegate, adviser or representative on behalf of the Indian Government or Indian commercial interests at several international conferences; is also a member of the Executive Council of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Author of "India and Pakistan".

Shri R. C. Dutt : Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1936; Deputy Secretary, Health Dept., Bengal, 1945-47; Labour Commissioner, West Bengal, 1947; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1947; Secretary, Special Recruitment Board, 1949-52; as Joint Secretary in the same Ministry from June, 1953, has been concerned with the organisation and management of Public Services and shaping and administering of the personnel policy of the Government of India; Member-Secretary, Public Services (Qualifications for Recruitment) Committee.

Shri N. V. Gadgil : B.A., LL.B. (Bombay); M.P., veteran parliamentarian and elder statesman; Vice-President of the Poona Municipality, 1928; Secretary and Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, 1937-47; President, Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, 1938-46; Minister for Works, Production and Supply, Government of India, 1947-52; Member, Working Committee, Indian National Congress, 1952-53; Member, Executive Council, Indian Institute of Public Administration. Author of several books on politics, economics, public finance and public administration in Marathi and English.

Shri Shyam Ratna Gupta : M.A.; Editor, *Bharat Magazine*, Delhi, 1945-46; Staff correspondent and sub-editor, Reuters, Ltd., London, 1947; Editorial staff, *The Times*, *The Times Weekly Edn.* and *The History of the Times*, Vol. IV, London, 1947-48; Information Officer, Press Information Bureau, 1948-49; Assistant Editor, *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 1949-51; with the Employers' Association, Calcutta, 1952-54; Information Officer, Press Information Bureau, attached to the Ministries of Home Affairs and Law, July 1954—.

Shri Indarjit Singh : Joined the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, 1937; Deputy Government Examiner, Railways; Deputy Accountant-General, U.P.; Private Secretary to the Finance Minister; Member for Finance and Industry, PEPSU State Government, 1948-49; Secretary, Central Board of Revenue, 1949-50; Collector of Central Excise, 1950-51; Commissioner of Income-tax, 1951-53; Secretary, Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-55; at present Member, Central Board of Revenue, and engaged on the Enquiry into the Reorganisation of the Indian Income-tax Department.

Shri Humayan Kabir : M.A. (Cal.), M.A. (Oxon.); State scholar, 1927; Exeter College Foundation Prize, 1931; Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University, 1933-45; Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1937-47, also Leader, Peasants' Party; Member, Railway Enquiry Committee, 1947; Co-editor, *History of Philosophy*, Eastern and Western; Vice-President, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1953; Consultant, Fund for the Advancement of Education, New York, 1953; Member, Executive Council, Indian Institute of Public Administration; Secretary and Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1952—; Chairman, University Grants Commission. Chairman, Executive Board of Indian National Commission for Unesco. Author.

Prof. D. G. Karve : M.A. (Bombay); veteran economist and philosopher-administrator; Chairman, Bombay Administrative Enquiry Committee, 1948; Executive Editor, *Bombay District Gazetteers (Revision)*, 1949-52; Chairman, *Madhya Bharat*

(carried overleaf)

Co-operative Planning Committee, 1952; Director, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; at present Chairman, Village and Small-scale Industries Committee (Second Five Year Plan); Member, Panel of Economists and Panel on Land Reforms, Planning Commission; Author of "Public Administration in a Democracy", 1950.

Prof. S. V. Kogekar : B.A. (Hons.) (Bombay), B. Sc. (Hons.) (London); Prof. of Pol.Sc., Fergusson College Poona. Member, Research Programme Committee, Planning Commission; Member, Executive Committee, International Political Science Association; Member, Executive Council, Indian Institute of Public Administration. Secretary, Deccan Education Society, Poona; Formerly General Secretary, Indian Political Science Association. Author of "Introduction to Economics" and "Political Science in India".

Prof. V. K. N. Menon : B.A. (Hons.) (Madras), M.A. (Oxon.); Director, Bureau of Research in Public Administration, Public Service Commission, U.P., 1948; Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1953-54; at present Prof. of Pol. Science and Director, Institute of Public Administration, Patna University; Member, Executive Council, Indian Institute of Public Administration.

Dr. S. T. Merani : Ph.D., (Labour Economics); joined the Indian Administrative Service, 1949; Director, Labour Conferences, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, 1952; Deputy Secretary in the same Ministry, 1953—.

Mr. Shiro Okabe : Director, Department of Education, Gunma Prefecture (Japan), 1946; Bureau of Administration Research, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Japan, 1947; Director, Bureau of Legislation, National Personnel Agency; Director, Superintendent Division, Administrative Control Board and Director, Academy of Public Service Administration, 1952—.

Shri R. K. Patil : B.Sc., LL.B.; was a member of the Indian Civil Service from 1930 till his resignation in 1943; Minister for Food and Agriculture, C.P. and Berar, 1946; Food Commissioner, Government of India, 1949; Member, National Planning Commission, 1950-51; Minister for Planning and Development, Madhya Pradesh Government, 1953.

Shri K. G. Salyidam : B.A., M.Ed.; Prof. of Education, Aligarh Muslim University, 1926-39; Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1939-46; Educational Adviser to Rampur Government, 1946-47; Educational Adviser to Bombay Government, 1947-50; Joint Educational Adviser and Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, Dec. 1950; Addl. Secretary, May 1954—.

The Hon. Edwin Herbert Samuel : C.M.G., M.A.; Palestine Civil Service, 1920-48; Visiting Prof. of Middle East Government, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, 1948-49; European Director, *The Conquest of the Desert Exhibition*, Jerusalem, 1953; at present Principal, Institute of Public Administration in Israel; Member, Committee on Administrative Practices, International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

CONTENTS



	<i>Page</i>
A Word to the Services	<i>Jawaharlal Nehru</i> 289
History and Precedent vs. Reform	<i>Paul H. Appleby</i> 303
Towards a Programme Budget	<i>Rana K. D. N. Singh</i> 310
Public Service Examinations— A Peep Behind the Scenes	<i>N. S. Mani</i> 318
Integration in Welfare Administration	<i>S. P. Mohite</i> 328
Public Service Unions in the United States	<i>Anand K. Srivastava</i> 335
Why Metric ?	<i>Pitambar Pant</i> 344
Training of the Administrative Services in States	<i>B. S. Khanna</i> 354
Editorial Notes	361
News from India and Abroad	362
Digest of Reports	371
Director's Quarterly Report	381
Book Reviews	384
	<i>D. G. Karve</i>
	<i>H. M. Patel</i>
	<i>B. N. Datar</i>
	<i>Indarjit Singh</i>

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Shri B.N. Datar : Joined Government of Bombay 1942; Assistant Labour Commissioner, Ahmedabad; Assistant Labour Commissioner, Bombay, 1944-48; Deputy Labour Commissioner, 1949; Assistant Chief, Planning Commission, 1950-54; Director (Labour & Employment), Planning Commission, April 1954—.

Shri Indarjit Singh : Joined the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, 1937; Deputy Government Examiner, Railways; Deputy Accountant General, U.P.; Private Secretary to the Finance Minister; Member for Finance and Industry, PEPSU State Government, 1948-49; Secretary, Central Board of Revenue, 1949-50; Collector of Central Excise, 1950-51; Commissioner of Income-tax, 1951-53; Secretary, Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-55; at present Member, Central Board of Revenue, and engaged on the Enquiry into the Reorganisation of the Indian Income-tax Department.

Prof. D.G. Karve : M.A. (Bombay); veteran economist and philosopher-administrator; Chairman, Bombay Administrative Enquiry Committee, 1948; Executive Editor, Bombay District Gazetteers (Revision), 1949-52; Chairman, Madhya Bharat Co-operative Planning Committee, 1952; Director, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; Member, Panel of Economists and Panel on Land Reforms, Planning Commission; Author of "Public Administration in a Democracy", 1950.

Shri B.S. Khanna : M.A.; Lecturer in Political Science and Public Administration, Punjab University; at present engaged on research on "Administrative Services in India and England in the post-war period" at London School of Economics and Political Science.

Shri N.S. Mani : Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1937; Assistant Collector; District Collector; Secretary, Civil Supplies and Food Production; Director of Controlled Commodities (Madras); Secretary, Union Public Service Commission, 1955; at present Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

Shri S.P. Mohite : B.A., LL. B.; Joined the Bombay Civil Service, May, 1937; Appointed in I.A.S., 1949; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937; Deputy Collector in Bombay Civil Service; Superintendent, Land Records and Land Revenue Settlement Officer, 1940-42; Served in World War II; Officer on Special Duty for Co-operative Farming; Collector and District Magistrate, 1947-49; Director of Food Production, Bombay State, 1949-50; Collector and District Magistrate, 1950-52; Deputy Development Commissioner, 1952-53; Addl. Development Commissioner and Joint Secretary, Political and Services Department, Government of Bombay, July 1953—.

Shri H.M. Patel : B.A. (Oxon.), B. Com. (London), C.I.E. (1946); Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1926; Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of Bombay; Secy., Stock Exchange Committee, 1936-37; Trade Commissioner, Northern Europe, at Hamburg, June 1937; Deputy Trade Commissioner and Trade Commissioner, London, 1939-40; Secy., Eastern Group Supply Council, 1941-42; Deputy Director-General, Supply Dept., 1942-43; Joint Secy., and Secy., Industries and Civil Supplies Department, 1943-46; Joint Secy., and Secretary to the Cabinet, 1946-47; Partition Secretary; Defence Secretary, 1947-53; Food and Agriculture Secretary, 1953-54; Secretary, Ministry of Finance (Economic Affairs Department), December 1954—.

Shri Pitambar Pant : Lecturer in Physics, University of Allahabad, 1939; Secretary to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, 1945-46; Technical Assistant to Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis in U.K. and U.S.A., 1946-47; Under Secretary, Private Secretary to Minister for Rehabilitation, 1951; Private Secretary to Chairman, Planning Commission, 1953—, Deputy Secretary 1955; Hony. Joint Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, 1955; Secretary, Statistical Quality Control Policy Advisory Committee, 1954; Member, Standing Metric Committee, 1955.

Shri Rana K. D. N. Singh : A. M. (Chicago) ; Joined the Indian Administrative Service, 1950; Fulbright Scholar, Chicago University, 1953-54; at present Deputy Secretary in Planning and Development Department, Government of Assam.

Shri Anand K. Srivastava : M. Sc. ; Joined the Indian Audit & Accounts Service, December 1950; Assistant Accountant General, Uttar Pradesh, December 1952; Assistant Accountant General, Madhya Pradesh, January 1954 ; at present studying at New York University for M. P. A. degree.